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THE

CAREER OF DON CARLOS,

SINCE THE DEATH OF

FERDINAND THE SEVENTH:

BEING

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF

CHARLES THE FIFTH

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BY HIS AIDE-DE-CAMP,

THE BARON DE LOS VALLES

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TO H. R. H. THE PRINCESS OF BEIRA.

MADAM,

I PERFORM a sacred duty in placing under the protection of your august name, a narrative of the great events with which the history and royal sorrows of your august family are linked. If equanimity of soul, the highest qualities of the heart, the noblest attributes of mind, exercise an influence over the destinies of kingdoms, I have the consoling hope that you will powerfully contribute to restore the legitimate branch of the Spanish Bourbons to the throne of their ancestors.

It was imperative on me, Madam, to place your name at the head of a work, written on behalf of a cause to which you have made such generous sacrifices. Your love of justice, your tender at-

tachment to your sister and your nephews, has made you renounce all the advantages of fortune and of power, to which your birth gave you a claim, and which the usurping governments of Spain and Portugal would have eagerly tendered to your acceptance.

You alone, Madam, could replace near the Infants, your august nephews, the admirable mother which death has torn from them; you alone could rear them in those principles of magnanimity and religion, which must render them worthy of the high station they are destined to occupy. Providence, in depriving them of a mother, at a moment when their father is so valiantly combating in defence of their cause, affords to their grief the support and aid of your lofty virtues.

I claim, above all others, the right to appreciate the loss your nephews have experienced, and the consolations which heaven has provided for them, for I have witnessed, more than others, the noble character of your august sister Queen Donna Françisca, and the maternal tenderness you have cherished for the orphans she bequeathed to you on her death bed.

These are my titles, Madam, for presuming to

render you this public homage of my respectful admiration; happy shall I esteem myself if you deign to accept it, and to permit my renewing in this place the expressions of my deep gratitude for the kindness with which you have honoured me, and of the devoted attachment with which I shall ever subscribe myself

Madam,

Your Royal Highness'

Very obedient humble servant,

BARON DE LOS VALLES.

PREFACE.

THE great events of which Spain has, for the last three years, been the theatre, rivet the attention of Europe to the heroic struggle of legitimacy, calm in its strength, against a furious and a dastardly usurpation. Whilst Charles V places his pride in confiding the success of his cause to the fidelity and courage of his subjects, what a warning is not offered to nations and Kings, when they behold, on the contrary, the inconsiderate Christina loudly soliciting the assistance of strangers, and imploring the support of all the adventurers of Europe, beseeching them to step in between her and Charles V; a Queen of Spain calling Belgians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, Poles, and Portuguese to her aid, in order to place them in hostile array against those whom she designates as *her subjects!*

A political feature of such vast importance, in the presence of two millions of armed men, extending from Kalish to Bayonne, and remaining quiet spectators of the impious struggle of possession against right, has led us to think that this is the proper moment for publishing authentic memoirs destined to throw a great light over the subject of the succession to the crown of Spain.

A due appreciation of those events requires an intimate knowledge of the causes which have brought them about, and of the disgraceful intrigues by which the policy of the revolutionary governments of Europe have placed Charles V in his present attitude.

None could better disclose to us these mysteries of iniquity than the Baron de Los Valles, a witness and an observer of the events in which has originated the war now desolating Spain. Admitted to the confidence of the legitimate heir of the Spanish monarchy, his faithful servant and attendant from the time of his banishment into Portugal, to that of his triumphs in Navarre, the narrative which he publishes, will reveal, with striking veracity, the men and events of that country in their true character.

The boundless devotion of the Baron de Los

Valles to a prince, wandering, proscribed and dethroned, whose whole fortune consists in his birth-rights and his sword, can only be ascribed to a deep and settled conviction of the prince's lofty qualities. M. de Los Valles has been near the person of Charles V for the space of four years, and has beheld him in all the phases of his good and his evil fortune; he saw him an Infant at Madrid, in the very zenith of power and popularity; afterwards an exile in Portugal, bereft of every resource, and frequently of common shelter; unrelentingly pursued by his enemies, and always on the point of falling into their hands; then coming into the power of the English, and finally, traversing France in spite of the snares laid by every police to detect him. He has seen him in the vallies of Biscay and in the mountains of Navarre, sharing the bread and bivouac of his soldiers; and he pays Charles V the homage of attesting, that he has always found him calm, dignified, courageous, resigned, and constantly soaring above his vicissitudes of fortune. His admiration of such signal qualities has supplied him with the firm conviction, which has been the rule of his conduct, that the happiness and futurity of Spain depend upon the fate of a prince

seasoned to the throne in the school of adversity, as his ancestor Henry IV had been before him.

The firm and heroic character of Don Carlos* is long known and appreciated in Spain; his subjects recollect all the circumstances of his life, in which he uniformly gave proofs of his energy and loyalty. Studious and pensive from his childhood, he gave early indications of his strength of mind and resolute character. The conduct he held at Bayonne in 1808, in spite of the tyrannical orders of Napoleon, and of the still recent remembrance of the blood-stained ditches of Vincennes, was the first opportunity offered him of displaying a po-

* Charles V, known, until his brother's death, under the name of the Infant *Don Carlos*, is the second son of King Charles IV, who died in 1819. He was born the 29th March, 1788, and succeeded to the throne on the 29th September, 1833. He married on the 29th September, 1816, the Infanta of Portugal, Françisca d'Assis, daughter of King John VI of Portugal, who died at Haverstock in England, September, 1834. The issue of this marriage are:

First.—The Infant Charles Louis Maria, now *Prince of Asturias*, born the 31st January, 1818.

Secondly.—The Infant John Charles Maria, born the 15th May, 1822.

Thirdly.—The Infant Ferdinand Maria, born the 13th October, 1824.

litical opinion ; for he had ever been a stranger to the events of Aranjuez, which had led to his father's abdication. In the council held at the castle of Marac, for the purpose of proposing to the Infants, on the part of the Emperor of the French, that they should renounce their right to the crown of Spain, and accept in exchange the kingdom of Etruria, Don Carlos alone asserted his dignity of a prince. The timid Ferdinand was frightened at Napoleon's threats ; it was recommended by Escoiquitz that they should yield to his iron will. Don Pedro Gomes Labrador, who also took part in this council, displayed in vain all his firmness of character ; but Don Carlos, who had scarcely reached his twentieth year, declared himself against any concession which might entail disgrace upon his birth ; he loudly protested against the violation of his rights, and exclaimed with a tone of dignity which had a powerful effect upon his audience : " *Mas vale morir que vivir sin honor ; yo no consiento.* —Rather die than live without honour ; I will not consent."

Don Carlos shared the long captivity of his brother at Valencay, and was only restored to his country in 1814. On his return to Spain, he came in for his share of the enthusiasm manifested

by the Spaniards on again beholding their princes, and was one of the objects of the rejoicings with which he and his brother were greeted on their way from the frontier to Madrid. Don Carlos, whose judgment was already ripened by the meditations of a long exile, warmly opposed the acceptance of the nearly republican constitution decreed by the Cortes of Cadiz in 1812, which the revolutionary party insolently attempted to impose upon Ferdinand VII, at the moment of his return to his dominions; we are to date from this epoch, the constant hatred borne by that party to the Infant Don Carlos, and now directed with increased animosity against their King. This party, which stoops to every species of calumny, has never ceased to hold up Don Carlos to the Spaniards as the type of the most intolerant despotism. The enthusiasm he excites in the provinces now under his sway, the sympathies which he meets with in the midst of those populations in arms to defend their privileges and liberties, and who have come to range themselves under his banners, sufficiently attest the contempt of the Spaniards for those absurd accusations, and the confidence they place in the enlightened mind of their prince.

In 1820, Don Carlos resisted with great firmness

the acceptance of the constitution, which a revolted soldiery came to force upon their King. Nothing could have induced him to yield to so monstrous an encroachment of the revolutionary party, and it required a formal order from King Ferdinand to procure his adhesion. He vainly solicited of his brother, in 1822, the honour of commanding the royal guard, exposed to danger in the streets of Madrid, at the moment when it had taken up arms to defend the throne daily threatened by the republican spirit of the Cortes, and the audacity of the *descamisados* from all the Spanish provinces. His attachment to the ancient laws of the Spanish monarchy, and his respect for the royal prerogatives, won him the affection of all the royalists of the kingdom, who reposed in him their best hopes for the future welfare of the country. During his brother's life-time, Don Carlos persisted in remaining an utter stranger to every political intrigue; he bore, with the resignation of the most submissive subject, all the persecutions directed against him by the camarilla of Queen Maria Christina; and in attention to his brother's peace of mind, and to his wishes, he made every sacrifice that was compatible with the dignity of his rank, and with his birthrights; the letters from him which are known to the

world, and which the force of circumstances made it necessary to publish, are replete with the most fraternal good feelings.

Don Carlos is gifted with all the qualities of a man of honour, and possesses in the highest degree every domestic virtue ; religious without fanaticism, pious without intolerance, generous without prodigality, frugal without penuriousness, calm, brave, of a reflecting mind ; he only displays enthusiasm in his love of country, and in his respect for an oath. If providence destines that he shall be rewarded by re-ascending the throne of his ancestors, Spain never shall have boasted of a more loyal or a more conscientious sovereign ; I may add, as a guarantee for the future, that Charles V will be worthily represented by his eldest son the Prince of Asturias. All those who have seen this young prince, who will soon attain his eighteenth year, have been delighted to recognize in him all the features of a noble and brave Castilian, who only longs for the moment when he may draw his sword for the welfare and glory of his country.

The events of which the Baron de Los Valles is about to give us the picture, and in which Charles V acts so conspicuous a part, will more adequately describe than I can, a monarch who now rivets the

attention of Europe. No recital can offer greater pledges of authenticity and of commanding interest. Baron de Los Valles has been, for the last three years, initiated in all the affairs of Charles V; attached to his chancery as an officer belonging to the branch of foreign affairs, he has been employed in the most difficult and dangerous negociations; he relates, with candour and calmness, all that he may be permitted to publish without infringing the laws which his conscience and the secrecy due to state matters bind him to respect; and the best encomium that can be passed upon him, is to recal to the reader the uniform confidence reposed in him by Charles V on every important occasion.

Baron de Los Valles is one of those men of energy and determination, whose devotedness to the cause they espouse never yields to any obstacle, nor is alarmed at any danger; a diplomatic character and a military man at the same time; he enjoys the rare advantage, among men who belong to a party, that he is alike available for giving advice and carrying the advice into effect; those who are about to read his memoirs may feel a curiosity to be made acquainted with some circumstances of his life, which will briefly recal the various services he has rendered the cause of legitimacy in France as well as in Spain.

Born in France, in the midst of our revolutionary storms, M. L. Xavier Auguet de Saint Sylvain, now Baron de Los Valles,* belongs to a family whose religious and monarchical principles exposed them to the fury of the democratic hatred. Notwithstanding such unpropitious times, young Auguet received a distinguished education, and imbibed from his family the example of that attachment to the Bourbons which has never belied itself, and of that hatred for revolutionary ideas which he has never ceased to combat.

On the first return of the Bourbons to France, he pledged himself to devote his life to their defence, and immediately embraced the military career; he followed his King to Ghent in 1815, and only returned to France in his train. So signal a proof of attachment could not fail to procure him an appointment in that noble royal guard so admirably organised by the Duke de Feltre. M. Auguet afterwards removed to a regiment of the line, with a view to promotion, soon distinguished himself, and after the lapse of seven years was attached for a short time to the staff of the city of Paris. At a later period, some reverses of fortune compelled

* On the very day of the departure of Charles V from England, he handed to his travelling companion a warrant appointing him Baron de Los Valles.

him to quit the military profession, and to follow a more lucrative career.

It is not my intention to follow M. Auguet through every circumstance of his life, in his voyages to England, the United States, Canada and Mexico, during which he often found opportunities of promoting the interests of his country, and of propagating his monarchical opinions. My object is to make known the man as a political character, and a devoted subject; and I now reach the period when he placed himself in the foremost ranks of the defender of legitimacy. The disastrous revolution of July found him at his post, that of a royalist, and he ran imminent risk of his life during the three days. He shortly afterwards repaired to England, the land of exile of his legitimate sovereign, and reached Lulworth before the end of August; on quitting that residence, he had the honour of presenting the homage of his attachment to the Duke of Bordeaux, that interesting child, who told him with his ingenous gracefulness of manner and his truly French heart, when taking leave of him: '*you are about to return to France, Sir: how happy you must feel!*'

From the commencement of the revolution of July, M. Auguet excited the watchful suspicion of the police of the *juste milieu* party. The funeral

service of the 13th of February, at St. Germain l'Auxerrois, afforded a pretence for persecuting him, which the ministry did not suffer to escape; M. Auguet was arrested as a conspirator; one of the grounds of this accusation was found in an act of charity of Madame Auguet, who displayed, in the debates arising out of the trial, as much firmness as presence of mind. A reproach was made to M. Auguet of the humane interest displayed by his young wife towards the soldiers of the royal guard, his old comrades, wounded in the days of July, and for whom she had opened a subscription. The trial obtained some celebrity at the court of assizes; M. Persil, the then attorney-general, personally condescended to maintain the accusation; the loyalty and frankness of the accused, who openly avowed his legitimist opinions, in presence of the victorious and still armed revolution, and the powerful and persuasive eloquence of M. Hennequin, carried conviction to the minds of the jury; M. Auguet was acquitted.

In order to escape the future persecutions which menaced him, and the investigations of a suspicious and harassing police, M. Auguet resolved to quit France, and to establish himself in Spain. He received from the Bourbons of the elder

branch the most pressing, and most honourable recommendations to their august relatives in Spain; they procured him the most flattering reception from the court of Madrid, and especially from Queen Maria Christina, from her sister the Infanta Louisa Carlotta, and from the Infant Don Françisco de Paula. A superior rank was offered to him in the Spanish army; but M. Auguet saw that a revolutionary storm was preparing to fall upon that unhappy kingdom; he preferred retaining his independence; formed a literary establishment, which was patronised by the royal family, and succeeded beyond his hopes; by this means he was at liberty to hold his sword free from every engagement, and to tender his services to legitimacy now so seriously threated.*

* M. Auguet having refused the offers made to him by the Queen's partisans, in order to remain true to his political convictions, was exiled from Spain by a decree of the 9th of January, 1833. He repaired to Portugal, where he no sooner arrived than he solicited service of the King Don Miguel as a mere volunteer in his army of operations before Oporto. In spite, however, of the urgent recommendations of the Infanta Maria Françisca to her brother, his request was not accepted, the government having then adopted the absurd determination of admitting no more strangers into its service; this system was altered at a later period, but the events have proved that it was too late.

The Memoirs we now publish will sufficiently attest the zeal and disinterestedness with which M. Auguet entered into the party of the Infant Don Carlos, from the mere sense and conviction of his lawful right, and the sacrifices of fortune and property which he made to that cause, as soon as he found that the right of the prince, and the interests of the Spanish people, were alike compromised. On perusing the recital of the great events in which he had a share, some idea will be formed of the resources of mind and courage which he displayed; nevertheless, he has maintained an absolute silence on everything that bore too much of a character personal to himself, and has modestly kept in the back ground, when describing the great events which are now of the dominion of history, and of which he might have said, without incurring the charge of vanity : *Quorum pars magna fui.* Had I taken any other share in his work beyond that of arranging the manuscript he placed in my hands, I should certainly have related many important circumstances in which he acted a very conspicuous part, and with results highly redounding to his honour as a man of courage and of political discernment.*

* I shall merely notice two occurrences in which he distinguish-

I shall abstain from further details respecting the life of the Baron de Los Valles ; it is in his book that the series of facts he has to relate must be followed. From him we are to learn the vicissitudes

ed himself by great composure and unusual presence of mind at a moment of imminent danger. During one of the missions entrusted to him, and a mysterious stay which he made in Valladolid, he was informed, by some persons who felt an interest for him, that General Quesada, who had just replaced the Duke of Castro Terreno in the command of the troops, had learned the return of M. Auguet to Spain, and had set a price upon his head. Detachments of cavalry and infantry had been sent to every road, in search of him. As soon as his mission was accomplished, he procured a guide to conduct him on his way back to the King. This man was greatly alarmed at the danger of the task he had undertaken ; and the mere sight of a Spanish soldier made him tremble. They left Valladolid on the 9th of November, at nine o'clock at night, walking without taking rest, in order that they might the sooner reach the frontier of Portugal. When they had proceeded half way, they met one of the numerous detachments sent in pursuit of them. The guide, seized with terror, insisted upon falling back. M. Auguet pointed his pistol at his head, compelled him to advance, and suddenly assuming a cheerful countenance, as if his travelling companion had related to him some comical adventure, he burst into a loud laugh, and passed through the ranks of the detachment in this fit of laughing, which prevented the soldiers in quest of him from suspecting that they had amongst them the very man on whose head a price had been set.

in the fortune of Charles V ; we are to behold him in Portugal, in England, in France, and finally at the head of his brave and faithful army, where the prince condescended to confide to him a principal

Soon time after this occurrence, having rejoined the royal family at Braganza, when it was about to start for Villa-Real, M. Auguet remained behind with the Bishop of Leon, who was too much fatigued to continue the journey. The bishop had gone to lodge at the seminary; but when they attempted to proceed the next morning, they learnt that the advanced guard of the Christinos had just arrived, hoping to seize the royal family along with their attendants. The bishop, following M. Auguet's advice, had but just time to hurry away from the seminary, and to seek with him a more secure asylum. They took shelter in a neighbouring house, which they were compelled to enter through the window, by the assistance of a long ladder. Soon afterwards, their landlord, who was on the watch, came to inform them that a detachment insisted upon searching the house ; he proposed they should hide themselves in a garret, which the Bishop of Leon was obliged to enter on all fours, a very painful attitude for a man like the bishop, who was five feet eight inches high. These two fugitives remained several hours in this painful position, from which they were not removed till the soldiers grew weary of their fruitless search. They availed themselves of this opportunity to quit Braganza, where they abandoned their baggage and horses, and the bishop's mule. As a proof of the danger of their position, it may be added that M. Auguet's servant, who had the misfortune of being taken prisoner, was shot without a trial, on the mere suspicion of having been engaged in his service.

command in several engagements which were fought in the prince's presence. He displayed a bravery and energy which drew forth the admiration of the whole royalist army.

It only remains for me to explain the causes which have given rise to the publication of the Memoirs of the Baron de Los Valles ; they are to be ascribed to the forced leisure imposed upon him by a detention of nearly six months at St. Pelagie, under the prison bolts of Louis-Philippe.

A serious illness brought on by the chicken-pox, with which M. de Los Valles was afflicted during the six months of his residence in Navarre, but which never prevented his mounting his horse in the day of danger, or his accompanying the King, whom he never left for a moment, compelled him to solicit of the prince a few months leave of absence to repair his health in France, in the bosom of his family, whose interests required his presence. He quitted Spain for France in the beginning of last December. Fully confiding in the decree of the supreme court, which had decided, in the matter in which M. Jauge had been implicated, that Charles V might be served without any one incurring the charge of being declared an enemy to France, he unsuspectingly came to Paris, not sup-

posing that M. Thiers' police still retained a feeling of rancour against him for the deception he had practised at their expence, when he accompanied Charles V through France, from Dieppe to Bayonne, five months before ; but he was greatly mistaken. The police was scarcely informed of his return to Paris, when all their spies were set after him, and an order for his seizure was already issued, *for having conspired against the safety of the state, and for having been the bearer of a false passport ;* and a further order was given to *seize all arms, ammunition, and suspected papers* which he might have about his person. Denounced by a workman who was in his confidence, and who sold him to the dispensers of secret service money ; Baron de Los Valles was arrested at the house of one of his friends, who had given him shelter. He was foolishly accused of having assumed *a false name, in order to pass through France* with Charles V. It was assuredly a signal crime in the Baron de Los Valles, not to have travelled under his own name ! this would have made it so much easier for the police to arrest him, and the royal companion of his journey !

After a long and tedious legal procedure, Baron de Los Valles was brought, in the month of February, before the tribunal of correctional police,

and *sentenced to three months imprisonment*. M. de Los Valles bore this fresh persecution with becoming dignity; in his defence at the trial, he made no concession to the charge of the public accuser; he avowed his legitimist opinions with candour and firmness. It was during this three month's detention, that the Baron de Los Valles brought together his recollections of the events in which he took a part in the Peninsula, during the last three years, and he has unassumingly styled them: *A Chapter in the History of Charles V.*

J. T. MERLE.

Paris, 18 July, 1835.

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ZUMALACARREGUY.

THE CAREER

OF

DON CARLOS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Events that preceded the death of Ferdinand VII.

THE narrative we are about to furnish of the events which we personally witnessed, renders it imperative upon us to make known, in the first instance, the causes in which they originated; we must initiate those who may read this historical fragment, in the intrigues of the *camarilla*, which prepared the revocation of the Salic law, a fundamental one of the Spanish monarchy, since the accession of the House of Bourbon to the throne

of Spain, and one of the bases of the social edifice erected by Louis XIV to the glory of his family and the prosperity of both kingdoms. We must lay the more stress upon this portion of our disclosures, as we are to ascribe to this fatal revocation of the Salic law, all the evils which have, for the last three years, extended desolation over the Spanish territory.

The Princess Amelia of Saxony, the third consort of Ferdinand VII,* died at the commencement of 1829, without leaving any heirs to the crown of Spain; and from that period may be dated the first attempts to bring about a revolution in the kingdom.

In order to form a correct estimate of all the intrigues carried on about the person of Ferdinand,

* Ferdinand VII had been four times married. In 1802, to Maria Antoinette, fifth daughter of Ferdinand IV, King of Naples, who died in 1806; for the second time, in 1816, to his niece, Princess Isabella Maria Francisca, the daughter of King John VI, and of his sister Carlotta Joaquina, Infanta of Spain, who died in 1818; thirdly, in 1824, to Maria Josephine Amelia, daughter of Prince Maximilian of Saxony, who died in 1829; and, for the fourth time, on the 14th December, 1829, to Princess Maria Christina, daughter of Francis I, King of Naples, by whom he had issue two daughters, who have given rise to the late Spanish revolution.

the reader should be informed, that the court of Madrid had long been divided into two parties having opposite interests, and aiming at opposite objects. The first, called the Portuguese party, consisted of the Princesses of Portugal,* one of them the consort of Don Carlos, the other the widow of the Infant Don Pedro, now Princess of Beira. The second party consisted of Princess Louisa Carlotta of Naples, consort of the Infant Françisco de Paula; this princess was led by a *camarilla*, who urged her on to every species of political intrigue, and acted in the interests of her family.

* The royal family of Spain was at that time composed as follows;—

1st. King Ferdinand VII, born the 14th October, 1784.

2d. The Infant Don Carlos, now Charles V, born the 29th March 1788, married the 26th September, 1816, to the Infanta Francisca d'Assis, daughter of John VI, King of Portugal, and sister of Don Pedro and Don Miguel, born the 22d of April, 1800.

3dly. The Infant Francisco de Paula, born 10th March, 1794, married the 12th June, 1819, to Princess Louisa Carlotta, daughter of Francis I, King of Naples, born the 24th October, 1804.

4thly. The Infanta Maria Theresa, daughter of King John VI, and sister of the consort of Don Carlos, born 29th April, 1793, widow of the Infant Don Pedro, the King's cousin, and mother of the Infant Don Sebastian, born the 4th November, 1811.

The barrenness with which it pleased providence to afflict the three marriages of Ferdinand, awakened all the ambition of the members of that royal stock; and the Princess Louisa Carlotta, feeling how important it was for her to command an influence so warmly contested by that ofthe Portuguese princesses, formed the design of a fourth marriage for Ferdinand VII. She was eagerly seconded in the means she deemed it necessary to set in motion, by the Spanish liberal party, who had never renounced the hope of recovering their lost power, and dreaded the approach of that day, when the crown would devolve to the Infant Don Carlos, whose unblemished moral character, and rigid monarchical principles, appeared fraught with danger to their views.

The first object of the revolutionists was to remove the Infant Don Carlos from the throne; a fourth marriage of the King afforded them a prospect of attaining this object; they accordingly seconded, with all their might, the project of the Infanta Louisa Carlotta. This princess had procured from Naples, soon after the death of Queen Amelia, the portrait of her sister, Princess Maria Christina, whom she destined for Ferdinand's fourth hymen. The King was struck with the beauty of this princess, and soon declared that he

gladly accepted the proposal of marriage. King Francis I. yielded to the solicitations of his daughter, Louisa Carlotta, and consented to bestow the hand of Princess Maria Christina upon his cousin, the King of Spain. The brilliant festivities which preceded and followed the marriage, are in the recollection of every one; the princess, accompanied by her august parents, crossed the southern provinces of France, to which the Duchess of Berri hastened to repair, and did her all the honours due to her rank; she only quitted her sister on the frontier of Spain, where she was received by the Captain-General of Catalonia. On the road from Barcelona to Madrid, she was greeted by uninterrupted testimonies of respect, bestowed upon her by the whole population. She was welcomed by the inhabitants of Madrid with transports of joy, and by her husband with every demonstration of love. She was not long in obtaining over the king the double influence which her beauty and her ambition urged her to exercise; and from that moment, political intrigues began to ripen around her; or, rather, she and her sister became the focus of them. The influence of the Portuguese princesses accordingly declined; the friendship which had uninterruptedly subsisted between Ferdinand and Don Carlos visibly abated, and the

Infant himself was kept in the back-ground by the Queen and her party, as an object of suspicion.

The Spanish liberals having determined, at all hazards, to exclude Don Carlos from the throne, conceived the idea of procuring the abolition of the Salic law in the kingdom, where it had been established in 1713, by Philip V, in virtue of a law which had been discussed and passed by the general Cortes of the kingdom, purposely convoked in order to regulate the succession to the crown of Spain. This law had declared *that the princes descending from King Philip V, however remote they might be from the throne, should ascend it, even in preference to the daughters of the reigning prince.*

The first means resorted to by the faction, as soon as the Queen's pregnancy became known, was that of prevailing upon her to obtain the King's consent to the revival of the *expediente* of the Cortes of 1789, relative to the order of succession to the throne, a project consigned to oblivion in the archives of the kingdom, and never invested with the sanction of publicity. It was upon the demand of Charles IV, that the Cortes convoked in 1789, for the purpose of voting some financial laws, addressed a petition to him, towards the end of September, soliciting the abrogation of the Salic law. As the deputies from the provinces

had not received special powers for that purpose, they reserved to themselves, according to custom, the right of communicating on the subject with their constituents; and it is generally allowed that such communication was never made. Neither King Ferdinand, nor the Cortes, in the event of Queen Maria Christina giving birth to a princess, could deprive the Infant Don Carlos of his right, which, when once acquired, lasts as long as the object over which it is exercised; and no legal authority can deprive him of it who is once in possession, unless he should have proved himself unworthy of its enjoyment. It follows, therefore, that even if the Cortes of 1789, legally convoked, had consented to alter the law of succession to the crown, such alteration could not affect the rights of princes born previously to its being made known; for no law can have a retroactive effect.

The Infant Don Carlos was born in 1788; the Cortes of 1789 could not, then, under any circumstances, deprive him of his right to the throne, after the demise of Ferdinand, his elder brother, without male issue.

The liberals were not deterred by these considerations of morality and justice; they wanted but a pretext to obtain the exclusion of the Infant Don

Carlos from the throne of Spain; for they never doubted the value and authenticity of his rights; in order to attain their object, they endeavoured to bring over to their party the members of the King's *camarilla*, and had no difficulty in inducing them to enter into their views.

The most familiar and influential of King Ferdinand's favourites was Juan Grijalba, who had been raised, from the lowest domestic employment, to the dignity of keeper of the privy seal. He was solicited to open the first negociations, and to induce his master, whose full confidence he possessed, to consent to the alteration in the succession to the crown. The King resisted, at first, this attempted spoliation of his brother's rights; but Grijalba so frequently renewed his entreaties, and supported them by such strong arguments, drawn from family interests personal to Ferdinand, that the prince yielding to the intrigues with which he was beset by his wife and the whole *camarilla* of Neapolitan princesses, promised, at last, that as soon as the Queen should be pregnant, he would cause publicity to be given to the *expediente* of the Cortes of 1789, which it was attempted to revive as a law of the monarchy.

Symptoms of the Queen's pregnancy appeared a

few days afterwards; and Grijalba lost no time in repairing to the minister of grace and justice,* and ordered him, in the King's name, to cause search to be made for the *expediente* of the Cortes of 1789, relative to the rights of succession to the throne, and to bring it up for signature the next time he came to transact business with His Majesty. Grijalba announced also to the minister, that the King had himself handed over to his predecessor the original of the *expediente*, a few days after Queen Isabella's demise. M. Calomarde obeyed the orders he had just received, and took the act to the King, who, after keeping it for twelve days, returned the document to his minister with these words, written in his own hand-writing: "*Publique se*—Let it be published."

M. Calomarde, however, offered some observations to the King respecting the unseasonableness

* The Spanish ministry consisted, in 1829, of the following persons:

M. Salmon, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Don Françisco Tadeo de Calomarde, Minister of Grace and Justice.

The Marquis of Zembrano, Minister of War.

Don Luis Maria de Salazar, Minister of Marine.

Don Luis Lopez de Ballesteros, Minister of Finance.

of such a publication, drew his attention to the disturbances which might follow upon an act of state policy, which subverted one of the fundamental laws of the monarchy; and did not disguise from him that he would be thus affording fresh weapons to the revolutionary party for disturbing the tranquility of the kingdom. The King disregarded these observations, and commanded his minister, with all the severity which characterizes a fixed determination, *to cause his will to be carried into effect.*

M. Calomarde yielded with the utmost reluctance to this formal order of his sovereign; he foresaw its fatal consequences; it would perhaps have been worthy of him to quit the ministry, rather than become an accomplice in so outrageous a proceeding; but it requires an intimate knowledge of Spain to understand the magic of these three words: "Io el Rey," upon the allegiance of a Spanish subject. The resignation of the minister, tendered at that moment, would have been met by an order exiling him to a fortress, perhaps even to the *presidencies;* and so much heroism is rarely found in a statesman. M. Calomarde was, moreover, bound to more circumspection than any one else; his enemies had long accused him of being a very declared partisan of the Infant Don Carlos,

and the King himself was not proof against this suspicion, which had been encouraged in his breast against the fidelity of his minister. If M. Calomarde, in short, does not stand clear of all reproach on the occasion, he nobly repaired the errors of his timid compliance, by the conduct he pursued at a later period.

The *expediente* was published at Madrid on the 29th March, 1830, with the solemnities usually observed on such occasions; this publication struck with dismay all royalists devoted to their country, and raised the hopes of the revolutionists; it may be said that the immense majority of the population was grievously affected at the news. In Spain, the royalists are the bravest, the best informed, and the most devoted part of the nation, and consist of the army, the clergy, the nobility and the peasantry. The liberal party swell their ranks from none but manufacturers, and what are called *Spanish grandees;* men who, ever since their apostacy at the time of Joseph's usurpation, have sold and devoted themselves to each successive reigning power. M. de Martignac, so well known from his refined wit, had formed, on the subject of the Spanish grandees, whom he had closely studied and observed in 1823, an opinion which conveys

to our mind a severe, but a correct idea of them. "Ill favoured by nature in respect to intellectual faculties, sometimes deficient of the advantages of education, the grandees of the present day have experienced, even in a physical point of view, a species of degeneracy, which cannot fail to attract notice. They rarely attain the ordinary height of man, and they are generally of a weak and rickety constitution."*

The King of Naples was in Madrid at the time of the publication of the *expediente*, and although his family interests were seriously compromised by this new system of inheritance to the Spanish crown, that prince was not even consulted on the subject. Head of the younger branch of the Spanish Bourbons, his children were made to lose a great part of the contingencies of the inheritance of Philip V; he accordingly lost no time in protesting against the *expediente* of the Cortes.† King Charles X likewise asserted the rights of his

* Historical Essay on the Spanish revolution, by the Viscount de Martignac, p. 126.

† Francis I, King of Naples, was the great grandson of Philip V. His father, Ferdinand IV, ascended the throne of Naples as being the second son of Charles III. become King of Spain by the death of his elder brother Ferdinand VI.

family, by a protest to which the Duke of Orleans hastened to add his name; this prince did not foresee that, three years afterwards, he would have to assist, as King of the French, by means of subsidies and alliances, a usurpation of those very rights against which he was then so eagerly entering his protest. The King of Sardinia also added his protest to those of the other members of his family.

The Infant Don Carlos did not then protest, in order not to prejudice the incontestible right which the Salic law, established in Spain since 1713, gave him to the crown, in case the king his brother should die without male issue; but he reserved to himself the assertion of this right, when the proper time should arrive for calling the new law into operation.

The attempts made by the liberal faction, at the period of the revolution of July, proved the weakness of that party, and afforded to the Spanish people a fresh opportunity of manifesting its antipathy to revolutionary theories. The government found it then very difficult to prevent a general massacre of all those that were pointed out to the popular rage as *negros*. The rash enterprise of Torrijos proved equally abortive; nearly the whole

population of Malaga rose in a body to demand the punishment of those inhabitants of the town, who were publicly designated as his accomplices. The French revolution, so far from finding in Spain any support, had the contrary effect of dispelling from the minds of their greatest abettors those deceitful utopian systems of constitutional governments, of promising improvements, which are always impracticable under such systems of government. It is due to truth to avow that the recent occurrences in France, so far from compromising, had given strength to the royalist opinions in Spain; never had the throne of Ferdinand VII been more solid, or more firmly fixed; and there was every ground to look forward to the future peace and happiness of that kingdom, oppressed as it had been, from 1808 to 1823, by unexampled misfortunes. A domestic intrigue, in which the great interests of the state have been sacrificed to pitiful family ambition, has dispelled the hope entertained by all Spanish royalists; to this cause is owing that Spain has been hurled into the abyss of revolutions, and into all the evils of a civil war. This intrigue was, as I have related, the consequence of rivalries long subsisting between the Princesses of Naples and those of Portugal; it was the more afflicting

to those whose only object was the happiness of Spain, as it could not fail, in the sequel, to bring about a war of succession.

I communicated my apprehensions on the subject to the Infant Don Francisco de Paula; in my interviews with him, I represented how painful it was to witness the enmity prevailing between the members of the royal family, when a common danger ought, on the contrary, to draw closer the ties of kindred; and I held up to his view, at no distant period, the fatal consequences of such disunion. The prince appeared as alive as I was to the importance of the case, but he did no more than deplore it. The exertions made, with the same object in view, towards all the royal family, by many faithful servants, proved unsuccessful, owing to the unceasing intrigues of some foreign courtiers, who felt it to be their interest to foment these deplorable disunions, which often created the most afflicting scenes between the princesses; the enemies of royalty delighted in exaggerating, whilst giving them publicity, in order to tear from the heart of the Spanish nation their proverbial respect for their princes.

The hatred of the Infanta Louïsa Carlotta against the Princesses of Portugal, the persuasion

she entertained that the cause of her niece Isabella was the same as that of Donna Maria, led her publicly to arraign the legitimacy of Don Miguel, although it had been recognized by King Ferdinand who had an ambassador near that prince. I had a very warm discussion on the subject with H. R. H. which led to my disgrace, and at a later period to an intimation to absent myself for months from her palace.

The Queen's partisans openly accused Don Miguel of having usurped the throne of his niece; few persons ventured to take up the prince's defence, and it was easy to foresee, from that moment, what would be the future conduct of the Spanish government in his regard.

I addressed several letters, on this occasion, to a person attached to the Duchess of Berri, in order that she might induce the princess to exert, on behalf of legitimacy, the influence she possessed over her sisters, and heal the disunion of the royal family, which could not fail, sooner or later, to compromise the safety of the throne of the Spanish Bourbons; but owing to the awkwardness or prejudice of friends, my proceedings were considered as the effects of an unseasonable zeal, or of an ill-judged attachment; utter ignorance was pretended

of my meaning; the event has unfortunately proved that my anticipations were too well founded.

It was hoped, at one moment, that the evils which threatened Spain would be averted by the scruples which obtained possession of the King's mind, at the time of his illness at St. Ildefonso. Accordingly, all the steps which he then adopted in furtherance of so noble an object, as well as the events I am about to relate, led us to entertain this fleeting hope.

CHAPTER II.

Illness of Ferdinand VII at St. Ildefonso—Revocation of the decree which abolished the Salic law.

FERDINAND, whose health was often impaired, experienced during a journey of the court to St. Ildefonso, in September 1832, a severe attack of gout, which placed his life in such imminent danger that he was for a few moments mistaken for dead; all those who were about his person, the physicians themselves, fell into the mistake; a cloth was even spread over his face, and the windows of his apartment were thrown open, as is customary on such occasions. In the first moment of confusion and terror, the intelligence of the King's death was instantly conveyed, by a courier, to Madrid, where its suddenness created consternation. The news rapidly spread over Spain; the members of the diplomatic body dispatched

couriers with the official intelligence to their respective courts. A telegraphic dispatch brought it to Paris, and Louis Philippe, who received the first intimation through the telegraph from Bayonne, hastened to communicate it to Count d'Ofalia, the Spanish ambassador. *

* Count d'Ofalia, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, had invited some guests of high distinction to dinner on the 20th September. The company had just sat down, when a door-keeper, throwing open the folding doors, announced a message from H. E. the minister for foreign affairs; every subject is of grave importance at the present day; the ambassador's thoughts simultaneously turned to Don Miguel, to the acknowledgement of Donna Maria da Gloria, and to Mina. He rose to receive the minister's envoy. The latter walks in, and H. E. recognises a mere messenger in full livery with his shoulder knot. Count d'Ofalia was on the point of scolding his servants for not having simply received the letter which he presumed was to be handed to him by this messenger, when, to his great astonishment, he saw him draw from his pocket not a sealed packet, but his handkerchief, which he raised to his eyes already bathed with tears. Every one was breathlessly expecting the solution of this lachrymose drama, when the messenger broke silence, and announced to H. E. that he was commissioned by Count Sebastiani to inform him of the death of the King of Spain, a melancholy event, which grieved him above all others, he added, since he had had the honour of attending upon his Majesty during his captivity at Valencay. Count d'Ofalia quietly resumed his place at table; and imagining

All the ambassadors residing in Madrid, all the high dignitaries of the crown, the first functionaries of the state, and a crowd of superior officers in the civil service, hastened to repair to St. Ildefonso, to witness the great events then in preparation. The mourning draperies for the King's funeral had already left the wardrobe of the palace, and the capital expected every moment the arrival of the new King, when the telegraph of St. Ildefonso announced that the King had recovered from the lethargic crisis he had experienced. In fact, he rapidly recovered his strength and faculties, and was soon in a condition to converse on state matters with his family, and with those who en-

that either the minister or the messenger had been touched with some mental alienation, he determined to clear up his doubts, and proceeded after dinner to the residence of the minister for foreign affairs. He found Count Sebastiani there, who confirmed the news with a grave and reserved countenance. This was not the moment to call for explanations respecting the minister's singular message; the ambassador returned home, and learned the next day from the King himself, that the news of this painful catastrophe was too true. Fortunately for Count d'Ofalia, his mistake was of short duration; he was soon informed that His Majesty Ferdinand VII was not dead, and that the whole of this scene was nothing more than a comedy, in which a messenger, a minister, and a King, had each acted a part.

joyed his confidence; nevertheless, the dangerous symptoms of his malady were unchanged; and the physicians now declared that they had lost all hope of long preserving his life.

The Queen, enlightened by her friends on the situation of Spain, was the first to recommend to the King an arrangement with Don Carlos. Count de la Alcudia was entrusted with the negociation. This conscientious royalist, who never would disown the rights of the Infant to the crown, felt that it behoved him not to give pain to his master on his death-bed, by refusing a mission which was at variance with his political conviction.

It was in the afternoon of the 17th September, that Count de la Alcudia presented himself at the palace of the Infant Don Carlos, to make known to him the wishes of his august brother. Ferdinand VII, in deference to the advice suggested to him by those who were most devoted to the Queen's cause, was desirous of inducing the prince, his brother, to give a colouring of approval to the spoliation of his rights to the crown, by procuring his acceptance of the functions of *adviser* to Queen Christina, on whom he had just conferred the high dignity of regent of the kingdom, during the continuance of his illness. The rectitude of mind of the Infant, and his sound judgment, made him

avoid the snare laid to entrap him; he sheltered himself under the traditional records of the Bourbon family, which never allowed any prince, of that house, to take a part in state affairs, during the lifetime of the King, when of the age of majority. He clothed his refusal in all the forms of submission and respect, but gave the assurance that so long as the King, his brother, lived, he never would interfere in the administration of his kingdom.

Count de la Alcudia having brought back this answer to the King, returned half an hour afterwards to make to the Infant Don Carlos a proposal more explicit, and apparently more suitable to the prince's dignity. He communicated to him his Majesty's desire that he should accept a share in the regency, in concert with the Queen, and that his son should marry the Infanta Isabella. Feeling himself then called upon to avow his sentiments, Don Carlos replied in terms of the greatest moderation, " that he would not assent to such a proposal, which tended to no less than the abandonment of his rights, of those of his children, of the other members of his family, and of the crown of Spain."

Count de la Alcudia then told him, that his refusal would expose the country to the risks of a civil war, the results of which were incalculable.

"It is in order to avoid it," replied the prince, "that I am resolved to defend my rights, and to make an appeal to the nation, which will hasten to respond to it, convinced as we are that nothing could authorise my brother to destroy a fundamental law of the state, which he had sworn to maintain when he ascended the throne. The whole diplomatic body joins me in this conviction; and in case it should please the Almighty to call my brother to himself, I will assert my rights, if any attempt be made to set up the unjust pretensions of my niece; the result of the struggle cannot be doubtful."

Count de la Alcudia, who admired the noble sentiments of the prince, did not insist any longer, and withdrew to acquaint the King with his brother's refusal. Ferdinand, who perhaps inwardly, and apart from the influence exercised over him by the Queen's party, approved the dignified motives of Don Carlos, was alarmed at the dangers to which this family interest might expose the monarchy, and resolved to recall his project of a regency, and of abolishing the Salic law. The minister did not disguise from him that he participated in them, and had weighty reasons for believing that, under pretence of defending the law of *partidas*, the revolutionists would surrender Spain

to the fury of contending factions ; he added, that it was difficult, in such a case, to foresee when the effusion of blood would cease. The Queen, who never left her husband for a moment, said with emotion that she could not consent that any blood should flow in defence of a cause personal to herself, (*no quiero sangre.*) The King enquired of Count de la Alcudia what means should be resorted to in order to avert the storm which threatened Spain. " The only prompt and effectual means of averting such a misfortune," instantly replied the minister, " would be to annul the decree which has abrogated the Salic law ; this return to the ancient laws of the Spanish monarchy will immediately dispel all revolutionary hopes."

The King, aware of his dangerous state of health, was yielding to the religious feelings which disturbed his conscience ; he foresaw with dread the misfortunes he was preparing for Spain after his death ; and fearing that he might be reproached as the cause of the apprehended effusion of blood, he determined to restore the Salic law, and to annul the will by which he had appointed the Queen to be regent of the kingdom. He replied to his minister with undisguised emotion : " The happiness of my people has ever been the object of all my actions ; I cannot hesitate in making the *dero-*

gation you ask of me, since it must contribute to secure the tranquillity of Spain; draw up the decree of *derogation*."

Count de la Alcudia observed to the King that the dispatching of the decree was not within the province of his ministry, but concerned the minister of grace and justice. The King commissioned the count to direct M. Calomarde's attendance upon him on the following day. This minister accordingly repaired to the King's apartment on the morning of the 18th. The prince informed him of all that had taken place with the Infant his brother, and ordered him to draw up the decree of derogation from the law of the *partidas*, but on the condition of its being kept secret until after his death. M. Calomarde applauded his Majesty's determination; but observed to him that if so important a decree was not invested with every legal formality, a pretext would be afforded to the enemies of the state for calling in question the authenticity of that act of *derogation*, and for asserting, with a semblance of plausibility, that the King's consent had been insidiously obtained, and his sense of equity imposed on; that this fresh determination of His Majesty should therefore be communicated to the council of ministers, and

sanctioned by their presence. The King named accordingly the hour of six in the evening for the assembling of the cabinet council in his apartment. M. Calomarde went to the office of the secretary of state, where all his colleagues had met, and informed them of the last intentions of their Majesties; they unanimously applauded it; he then took up his pen, and drew up the royal rescript in the following terms:

"Desirous of giving my people a fresh proof of "the affection I bear them, I have deemed it pro- "per to derogate from the second law, title 15, "*partida* the second, respecting the succession to "the crown, and from all the clauses in my will "which might be contrary to this last determina- "tion. I ordain that this decree be deposited "with the ministry of justice until after my death. "You will so understand it, and see to its execu- "tion.

"I, THE KING."

All the ministers repaired to the King's apartment at the appointed hour, and stationed themselves round his bed. M. Calomarde read aloud the decree; the King afterwards approved of its

expressions. The Queen herself then placed a desk on the King's bed, and presented him with a pen to affix his signature. Ferdinand placed his flourish at the foot of the decree according to custom, and turning to M. Calomarde, asked if it was necessary that he should add his name. The minister replied that although the affixing his name was not requisite to give validity to the decree, he nevertheless thought, that considering its importance, he would do well to sign it. The King then signed near his flourish, and after so doing, handed the document to M. Calomarde, who was to have the custody of it until after the King's death. His Majesty now turned his attention to the rest of the ministers, and having remarked that M. Zembrano, the war minister, was not present, inquired where he was ; one of the ministers replied that he had returned to Madrid two days before, in order to place himself at the head of the troops, and be ready to quell, in case of need, the disturbances which might arise from the critical circumstances in which Spain was involved.

The indiscreet friends of the Queen, and her discontented partisans, did not fail secretly to make known the fact, that the pragmatic sanction, of the 29th March, 1830, had been revoked ; they desig-

nated M. Calomarde as the instigator of this new determination on the part of the King ; and he became the object of the most violent hatred. This minister was apprised of the dark plots which were preparing, and he received positive information that some daring revolutionists had formed the plan of assassinating him, in order to get possession of the decree, and to prevent its publication after the King's death. M. Calomarde communicated this intelligence to the council of ministers ; and it was unanimously resolved, that the original of the decree should be officially addressed to the elder member of the council of Castille, with a request, that he should not cause it to be enrolled until he should receive express orders to that effect.

From this moment, the King appeared much more composed, and said on the following day to M. Calomarde, affectionately pressing his hand at the same time : " Of what an enormous weight my heart is now relieved ! *I shall now die in peace.*"

This noble resolution, which prevented all disturbance, and maintained the order of succession such as it had been originally instituted, received the approbation of the whole diplomatic body ;

Count de Rayneval himself warmly expressed his satisfaction.

King Ferdinand VII unquestionably acted in this circumstance with full liberty of conscience, and in the plenitude of his will; he neither yielded to the suggestions of his courtiers, nor to any apprehension entertained of his brother's friends, as the Queen's partisans have since pretended it; he affixed his signature of his own free accord. It may thus be affirmed, that all which took place at St. Ildefonso was in perfect good faith, without violence, without the semblance of conspiracy, notwithstanding what has been asserted by writers of the revolutionary party; my testimony will be borne out by all those, be their opinions what they may, who were witnesses of the occurrence.

I now proceed to relate how this important act came to be withdrawn from publicity, how it was annulled before it became known. The elder member of the council of Castille, not observing the confidence reposed in him, delivered up the document to the Queen as soon as the King's health had improved. His complaisance was, at a later period, rewarded by the appointment of governor of that council.

The Queen was already resigned, and only

thought of her personal interests ; fearing that her improper behaviour towards the Infanta, consort of Don Carlos, might affect her future fate, she had caused the question to be put to her, whether, when she became Queen, she would forget her wrongs. The Infanta Donna Francisca, replied with dignity, " that she would take especial care not to imitate what now appeared to the Queen to be deserving of blame, and that since her Majesty acknowledged having injured her, the injuries were from that moment forgotten."

The Infanta Louisa Carlotta, wife of the Infant Francisco de Paula, and sister of Queen Christina, was at Seville with all her family, when she received a courier despatched by the secretary of the Infant her husband, informing her of all that had taken place at St. Ildefonso ; this news had upon the princess the effect of a thunderbolt. Mortified at the triumph of the princesses her rivals, and blinded by the hatred she bore them, she hastened her return to St. Ildefonso, in the hope that Ferdinand might be still living, and that she might arrive in time to make him revoke the decree, which subverted the new edifice of succession to the throne, erected with so much labour on the ruins of the Salic law, and of the ancient constitution of

the state. She travelled in forty hours from Seville to St. Ildefonso, a distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, through rugged, mountainous roads.

Her arrival changed in an instant the aspect of affairs; the Infanta reproached her sister with having abandoned the interests of her children; she arraigned the minister in violent language, and amongst the rest the Count de la Alcudia, whom she accused of treason, because he had not despatched a courier to her, on the first appearance of the symptoms of the King's illness, as it was his duty to have done.

The minister replied to her with becoming dignity, that he had in all things conformed to the orders of the King his master.

She then presented, for the King's perusal, all that the royalist journals of France had published, when the false report of his death became known in Paris; she harassed him with such perseverance and address, and so skilfully exerted the kind of dominion to which she and her sister had subjected the weak and enfeebled Ferdinand, that the prince allowed himself to be persuaded to recall everything he had done. M. de Calomarde was banished to his estate; it was only three weeks after his de-

parture that an order was transmitted to the Captain-General of Valladolid to conduct him to a fortress. Apprized of it in time, he withdrew into France with the copy of the decree. These measures of rigour were adopted against him, because he refused to surrender that important document.

Count de la Alcudia was named ambassador to England; but he refused the appointment, and withdrew to Italy. The other members of the cabinet were far more favourably treated; they remained in the council of state, with their salaries of ministers. These marks of attention were natural, considering that nearly all the ministers belonged to the faction which had just succeeded to power. The ministry of justice was confided to M. Cafranga, member of the council of Castille, and attached to the King's person, an office for which he was indebted to the mission *. he had fulfilled in his character of secretary to the Marquis of Ceralbo, sent by the King, in 1819, to several foreign courts, for the purpose of negociating for him a third marriage.

* An anecdote is still recollected in the chancellor's offices, at the time of the mission, which created much mirth at the court of Vienna at M. Cafranga's expense. On his arrival in that city, he left his card at the Prince Metternich's, having added to his

M. Cafranga was directed, in conjunction with the ex-minister Ballesteros and with Grijalba, to frame a new administration. His colleagues were Zea Bermudez, Monet, Uloa, *ad interim*, until the arrival of Admiral Laborde, and Encima y Piedra. A courier was dispatched to M. Zea, to urge his repairing without delay to his post; in his anxiety, however, to ascertain the measures intended to be adopted by the new administration, and to avoid the odium of the numerous dismissals from office which were threatened, he feigned an attack of the gout in order to delay his departure. This delay was every way acceptable to the ministers Uloa and Encima y Piedra, and to the constitutional party of which they were the leaders; they took advantage of this respite, to obtain an ascendancy over the Queen, who had resumed the regency which Ferdinand had again consented to confer upon her during his illness; their endeavours were more especially directed to the object of inducing this princess to plunge headlong into the constitu-

name *chef de bourreau* (instead of bureau) *du ministère de grace et justice*, (head executioner of the ministry of grace and justice.) This piece of awkwardness greatly amused Prince Metternich, who announced to several members of the diplomatic body, that he had been honoured with the visit of the executioner of Spain.

tional system. They experienced, however, some resistance on the part of the cabinet, which could not so readily adopt their political views ; but they were powerfully seconded by San Martin, the new minister of police, who had already held that office under the government of the Cortes ; they also met with strong support from the Queen's council.

This council, which exercised an overwhelming influence in the affair, consisted of the Dukes of San Fernando and San Lorenzo, the Marquis de Ceralbo, the Count de Punoenrostro, all grandees of Spain, and of Councillor Cambronero.

These personages had acted more or less important parts during the last revolution, and with the exception of Cambronero, who was held to be the first lawyer in Madrid, their political qualifications are far below mediocrity.

The Duke of San Fernando had given proofs of his incapacity, during his administration of 1820. Nevertheless, he cherished the hope of acting in Spain the part which had been performed in France by the Duke of Orleans ; and because he had married the sister of Cardinal de Bourbon and of the Princess of the Peace, he would fain consider himself as a member of the royal family ; he fancied that the trade of a usurper of high distinction was

well calculated for him, though it might be beyond his scope. Detained as a prisoner in Bilboa byt he carlist junta, he recovered his liberty about the end of November, and died shortly afterwards.

The Marquis of Ceralbo is only known by the mission to which I have adverted; and I am able to furnish an estimate of the talents he then displayed. During the diplomatic journey which he performed in 1819, in quest of a wife for King Ferdinand, he sojourned for a time at Turin; having read, in an old almanack, that King Victor Emanuel had a daughter named Princess Beatrix, he solicited her in marriage for his sovereign. The King of Sardinia was much astonished at the request, but good-humouredly replied: "I am much flattered by the honour you do me in the name of his Catholic Majesty; and had I been sooner made acquainted with his intentions, I should not have disposed of my daughter in favour of the Duke of Modena, to whom she has been married these seven years."

Those are the men who influenced the Queen in all the imprudent and dangerous acts which marked her regency. Another individual also,

whom it is proper to make known, performed an important part in these political intrigues. His name is Ronchi, and his life a perfect romance. He had been enacting the part of a medical practitioner at Tanjiers, and it is said narrowly escaped being impaled for breaking the tooth of the Dey's favourite mistress; he married the widow of the Spanish consul at Tanjiers, and came with her to Madrid, where he established himself as a broker. He became known at court, shortly after the arrival of Queen Maria Christina, in whose good opinion he ingratiated himself; and at the princess's recommendation, he was named by Mr. Salmon, honorary consul.

When a disunion broke out between the Princesses of Naples and of Portugal, he was commissioned by the Queen to watch every action of the Infanta Donna Francisca and of the Princess of Beira; and on the occasion of the marriage of the Infant Don Sebastian with a Neapolitan princess, he brought to the young bride the wedding presents which he had himself purchased.

Ronchi had the honour of accompanying the

princess to Madrid, and his credit with the Queen was, from that moment, on the increase. During her regency, the Queen appointed him honorary councillor of finance, and director of the lottery, two of the most lucrative employments in the kingdom. He shared the confidence of the princess with a young milliner named Teresita, who had been deserted by her husband. Teresita had attained such distinguished favour, that her friendship was courted by the very ministers, whom she alone had the power of introducing to the Queen, an office usually devolving upon a Spanish grandee, in his capacity of gentleman on duty. Teresita was afterwards exiled by M. Zea's advice; she has retired to France, where she lives in splendour; the Queen allowing her a large pension as the reward of her peculiar services; she is in possession of important secrets, and her disclosures would possess more value than that of mere novelty.

My only motive for noticing these two individuals, is that they have acted, during the regency a part far above their condition in life, obtaining at all times ready access to the Queen, and being intrusted with the most secret and important missions.

It was owing to their influence, that the Queen, with a view to counterbalance the royalist party, which is essentially carlist, placed herself at the mercy of the constitutionalists, whose numbers had been daily diminishing in consequence of the fatal turn assumed by the revolution in France. Thence arose the replacing all the captains-generals and the governors of cities by constitutional generals, the re-opening of the universities, the appointment to the council of Castille, and to the highest places, of a great number of liberals, and lastly, the celebrated decree of amnesty.

This fatal political measure recalled to Spain about twelve hundred violent constitutionalists, whose banishment had only tended to confirm them in their opinions; and who, spreading over all the provinces, propagated their destructive principles. Instead of considering the amnesty as an act of clemency, they ascribed it to the fear with which their party had inspired royalty. They loudly proclaimed that it was not they who stood in need of pardon, but Ferdinand VII himself, for having violated his oath by destroying the constitution to which he had sworn, and afterwards per-

secuting unto death those who had obeyed his orders and followed his example. A great number signed a protest against the amnesty, addressed it to the Queen-Regent, and published it in the newspapers. The Queen took great pains to prevent a document so seditious, and so insulting to the royal dignity, from falling into her husband's hands; but her precautions were fruitless; a friend of mine conveyed to his Majesty, by means of one of the servants in attendance about his person, the *Quotidienne*, in which the protest was inserted. This faithful servant prevailed on the King to read it during the Queen's absence, and without the knowledge of the spies who kept watch about the apartment of the royal sufferer. Indignant at the insolent language of that protest, the King sent for the Queen, and reproached her with having wrung from him the decree of amnesty. "You fancied, Madam," said he, "that by granting an amnesty to your enemies, you would satisfy their demands, and secure a claim to their gratitude; this writing proves to you how little you are acquainted with men who will neither be brought by their misfortunes, nor by your favours, to friendly sentiments towards your government; the course you are pursuing, since you govern as Regent, will entail the

heaviest catastrophes upon the country." He went so far as to threaten to withdraw the regency from her. The Queen appeared deeply affected, and shut herself up for days in her apartment; but they afterwards made it up, and the princess continued to direct the affairs of the state, on condition, however, that the council of ministers should assemble in the King's apartment. The improvement which the unhappy monarch had for some time experienced in his state of health, was soon followed by a relapse, which wholly deprived him of his intellectual faculties; from that moment he daily grew worse.

The revolutionary party made great progress during this last crisis of the King's illness; they daily obtained fresh concessions from the regent, and succeeded in procuring the appointment of Uloa to the ministry of marine, instead of Admiral Laborde. The persevering struggles of the ministers Cafranga and Monet, against the greedy encroachments of the constitutionalists, proved fruitless; their position grew so irksome to them, that they despaired of maintaining it, and repeatedly tendered their resignation, which the Queen had not the courage to accept, apprehensive as she was, that if the King should be restored to health,

he would bitterly reproach her for parting with those two ministers, whose devotedness to his service, and whose moderation were well known to him.

Unable to secure a majority in the council, the revolutionists organised, beyond the sphere of government, such means of action as were calculated to raise up fresh dangers to the monarchy. They formed themselves into secret societies, and established in the capital, and in the provinces, a great number of masonic lodges, to which they gave the name of *Christina*. Two Spanish grandees, young men devoid of capacity or talent, but full of arrogant presumption, were commissioned to organise these clubs in the capital. They endeavoured to recruit their numbers from amongst the body guards; but they failed in bringing over more than thirty of them, out of the five hundred who composed the four squadrons. Only five officers, out of eight regiments of the guard, consented to join them, in spite of the threats held out, in the Queen's name, against those who should refuse to take part in the revolutionary meetings. A young officer of the guard, son of the Marquis of Albudete, a grandee of Spain, and captain of that corps, being urged to choose between the Christina lodge, and the alternative of imprisonment in a for-

tress, nobly replied that he preferred a prison to dishonour. Finding they could secure no more proselytes amongst the body guard and the royal guard, the *Christinos* resolved to procure the disbanding of both corps; the two ministers, who were their accomplices, undertook to make the proposal to the council; but it was so warmly resisted by their colleagues, who again tendered their resignation, that the proposal was thrown out.

The enemies of royalty were not disheartened by this check; they endeavoured to succeed by other means. They invented a plot against the life of the Queen and of the Infantas, her daughters; in which they strove to involve nearly all the body guard, and the officers of the royal guard; this pretended conspiracy was to break out in the night of the 8th of November. The five officers, who were members of the clubs, were directed to give information of it to the Queen, who, terrified at the news, ordered to Madrid a division of the troops of the line, who had been quartered in its environs ever since the King's illness, under the command of General Pastor, a favourite of Donna Louisa Carlotta; she called together, at the palace, the council of ministers, who remained in deliberation until the next morning; all the corps of the garri-

son were ordered to be in readiness in their quarters; the *Christinos* met in arms at the residence of the chief of the police, and left it at midnight in organised bodies, perambulating the city, and endeavouring to raise a disturbance; but no notice was taken of their provocations. A patrole of twenty men, whose pass-word they had treacherously attempted to obtain, was sufficient to disperse them.

So great a display of forces, at a moment when the capital was perfectly tranquil, made the royalist volunteers apprehend that it was intended to disarm them; they all hastened to their quarters, determined to make a vigorous defence. Out of a body of four thousand men, not one was found absent when the names were called over; they established advanced posts in the vicinity of their barracks, in order to repel the enemy, if he should make his appearance. The denouncement of a plot which impeached the honour of the guard, and was on the point of kindling a civil war in the streets of Madrid, determined the heads of the corps to arrest its authors; but having been set at liberty by the Queen's command, issued at Uloa's recommendation, they were compelled to fight duels with several of their comrades. The

victors and the vanquished were shut up in their quarters; the Christinos, however, soon recovered their liberty; whilst their adversaries were dismissed from the guard, and banished to a distance of twenty leagues from Madrid.

M. Zea Bermudez, who was impatiently expected by his two colleagues of moderate views, arrived soon after this event. He immediately turned his attention to the drawing up of his famous manifesto, which was read at a council presided by the Queen, and met with general approbation. It was published the same day in the official gazette, was dispatched to all the provinces by extraordinary couriers, and sent to the different foreign courts. This prelude was a death blow to the liberal party, and inspired the royalists with the liveliest hopes; they fancied that M. Zea's opinions had undergone a change, that he would exert his ascendancy over the King's mind to convince his Majesty, that the only means of restoring tranquillity to Spain, and of satisfying the wishes of the nation, were to be found in the promulgation of the decree which he had signed on his death-bed; but they were soon undeceived, when they read, in the official gazette, the ordinance suppressing the general inspection of the

royalist volunteers, an ordinance drawn up in M. Zea's own handwriting; this suppression was tantamount to a complete disbanding of a corps which was the last remaining support of the monarchy.

M. Zea was not long in substituting, for the minister Monet, General Cruz, his old colleague of 1824, and for Cafranga, the Councillor of Castille Fernandez del Pino, a favourite of the Queen and of her sister, a man of limited understanding, but a consummate courtier, and ready to sacrifice every thing to his ambition. He offered to Count d'Ofalia the ministry of the interior, which the latter accepted, after vainly endeavouring to obtain the department of foreign affairs. To M. Zea is also to be ascribed the act of replacing the commanders-in-chief of the guard by two of his dependants, Generals Quesada and Freire, who were then known as liberals of moderate views; he then turned over the task of other changes to his colleague of the war department, who no sooner arrived, than he placed upon half-pay nearly all the generals, the superior officers and about two hundred inferior officers of the guard. It must be said to the praise of the gallant General Freire, that he resisted all these changes, and even tendered his resignation; but was at last compelled to give

way. Four hundred of the body-guard were also discharged and sent home at the request of the milliner Teresita, who had complained to the Queen of the little respect they paid to her. There only remained a single squadron, consisting of Christinos, for the ordinary duty of the palace. Similar changes took place in the army; all the officers who were considered to be royalists were struck off the lists, as well as those who had served in the ranks of the army of the faith in 1820-21-22 and 23. Two new regiments of cavalry and infantry were also formed, bearing the name of the young Infanta Isabella, and they were almost exclusively officered by constitutionalists.

CHAPTER III.

Occurrences up to the death of Ferdinand VII.

After having terminated this purifying work, M. Zea Bermudez turned his attention to procuring from the King a solemn retraction of every thing he had signed at St. Ildefonso. Ferdinand VII presented at this time to Europe the painful spectacle of a sovereign declaring, in a general assembly of the whole court, of all the grandees of his kingdom, and of all the high functionaries of state, that he was unworthily imposed upon by those who surrounded his death-bed. This retractation which inflicted so deep a wound upon the regal dignity, was received by all parties with contempt. The liberals loudly declared that it was the fifth representation of one and the same comedy. That assembly was besides divested of all authority and value, owing to the significant

absence of the prince of the blood, and of the diplomatic body, who refused to attend it.

It must be admitted, in justice to Ferdinand's memory, that his illness had then made such progress, that he was no longer in the enjoyment of his faculties. He was a dying man possessed of neither strength nor will; harassed by his wife and his sister-in-law, annoyed at the importunities of his ministers, he consented, mechanically as it were, to all that was required of him, in order to be relieved from the torture of the agony he endured.

No time was lost in immediately publishing the pretended decision of the Cortes of 1789; it was sent to all the civil and military authorities, and was read to the people and the troops. This precaution proves how great was the dread felt of public opinion, which loudly revolted at this act of state policy.

The liberal party finding that it derived no advantage from these measures, invented fresh conspiracies in order to procure the removal of those who were most devoted to the royal family. The chief of the police, the protector of the *Christino lodges*, who had always in his pay a crowd of men of bad character, delivered to the Queen, in strict

conformity with the common practice resorted to for revolutionary purposes, *a plan of a vast conspiracy*, whose ramifications extended as far as the most distant provinces, and having for object to assassinate the Queen and the two Infantas her daughters, to put the ministers to death, and afterwards proclaim Don Carlos King of Spain in the room of Ferdinand VII, who was to be declared incapacitated from reigning.

This pretended conspiracy, which existed nowhere except in the offices of the police, produced on the enfeebled mind of the King the effect which was expected from it. It served as a pretext for measures of severity against his most devoted servants; a great number were exiled or thrown into prison; respect was not even paid to the residence of the Infant Don Carlos; the Count de Negri, a gentleman of H.R.H. household, was arrested at the prince's card-table. The only motive of these persecutions, was the attachment of some faithful Spaniards for the cause of the prince, whose rigid principles of loyalty and justice they too well knew, to attempt to conspire in his favour against the King his brother. The disturbances which had taken place in the provinces, had been excited by the harsh treatment exercised against the royalists.

The insurrection in the town of Leon was owing to the arrest of the venerable bishop of that diocese. His inviolable attachment to the Infant Don Carlos, his superior talents, and his high influence over the clergy and the royalists, had made him an object of suspicion to the revolutionary party, who, a few days after the political catastrophe of St. Ildefonso, had required his dismissal from the council of state, of which he was the most enlightened member.

It was at this period that the Spanish government laid to my charge, as a crime, my intimate intercourse with this virtuous prelate, and my political relations with many other personages who had incurred the suspicion of the new ministry; I was accused of conspiring in favour of Don Carlos, and I received the order to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours. I took refuge in Portugal towards the end of January 1833.

The deplorable events which occurred in Spain, soon compelled the Infant Don Carlos to solicit of King Don Miguel an asylum against Queen Christina's persecutions.

Emboldened by the concessions daily made to them, the revolutionists dared to demand of the King, through his consort, the banishment of the

Princess of Beira. Her rigid political principles, her firmness of character, and her attachment to her sister Donna Maria Françesca, the wife of Don Carlos, had long drawn down upon her the hatred of the liberal faction. This princess was beloved by all who were in attendance upon her, and who insisted upon sharing her exile, rather than be separated from her. Queen Christina wrung from her husband the order given to the Princess of Beira to quit Spain and retire to Portugal.

Finding that his enemies sought every opportunity of injuring him in the mind of his brother, by pointing to him as the cause of the risings which had occurred in various parts of the kingdom, Don Carlos determined, at last, to deprive his enemies of every pretext for traducing him, and requested his brother's permission to accompany his sister-in-law to Portugal with all his family.

King Ferdinand at first refused his consent; but M. Zea having impressed him with the conviction that it was important to keep Don Carlos away from Madrid, at the time of the ceremony of the *Jura*, when a protest of the prince might be attended with the most serious consequences, and endanger the acknowledgement to be made of his daughter Isabella in virtue of the pragmatic sanc-

tion, no difficulty was found in overcoming the repugnance of the King, who had then reached the lowest degree of intellectual weakness. Ferdinand gave his consent to all that was required of him; but he could not part without emotion from a brother who had given him so many proofs of attachment, had shared his captivity in France, and all his dangers in Spain, and who, were it not for the rectitude of his character, and for his fidelity as a subject, would have found numberless opportunities of obtaining possession of the crown, supposing his ambition to have kept pace with the influence and popularity he so generally enjoyed.

All that was most honourable and distinguished in Madrid hastened to bear testimony to the Princess of Beira of the regret felt at her departure, and to express to the Infant Don Carlos the desire of all true Spaniards, that he might soon return to take his place amongst them. The Minister of the United States, who entertained the highest respect for this prince, was deeply affected at taking leave of him.

The royal retinue of exiles, consisting of eight persons*, commenced their journey towards Portu-

*. Don Carlos, the Infanta Maria Françesca his wife, the three

gal on the 16th of March 1833, and were greeted along the whole road by testimonies of sorrowing enthusiasm, notwithstanding the orders given by the government that no honours should be paid to them ; the royalist volunteers had been forbidden, under threat of imprisonment, to appear in uniform ; and the clergy were required not to allow the church bells to be rung. It was known that the people intended, by their demonstrations of respect, to console this exalted family from the persecutions of which they were the object. Several officers, who had the boldness to come forward, and kiss the prince's hand on his passage, were put under arrest, and deprived of their pay ; troops had been placed at certain distances along the road as far as Badajoz, and the command of them had been entrusted to officers devoted to the Queen, with orders to fire upon the people, in the event of their assembling in numbers.

The arrival of the Infantes in Portugal excited the liveliest transports of joy ; the worthy Portuguese people were greatly affected at again beholding two of their princesses, the sisters of their king,

Infantes his sons, the Princess of Beira, her son the Infant Don Sebastian, and the Infanta Maria Amelia his wife.

after an absence of so many years from their native country. The Infanta Maria Françesca had quitted Portugal in 1807, and her sister, the Princess of Beira, in 1822. The people had not forgotten their devotedness to their country, nor the services they had rendered to the troops of the Marquis of Chaves, by providing for their wants during many months, and affording them, at a later period, the means of re-entering Portugal; accordingly, their journey from Elvas to Lisbon was an uninterrupted series of popular rejoicings.

Some days after the departure of the royal family, arms were delivered, by the Queen's orders, and without the king's knowledge, to the Christinos, who were only awaiting a favourable moment for proclaiming the constitution. They summoned to Madrid several old chiefs of constitutional guerillas, men of the most resolute character; and they did not blush at connecting themselves with the famous banditti leaders, Jose-Maria, and the two brothers Bodega. They made an attempt on the 19th, which was only defeated by the energy of the gallant General Freire, who, as captain-general of Madrid, had all the troops of the province under his command; their agents set fire to the palace of the Duke of Alba, which is at one extremity of the

city, for the purpose of creating a diversion; contrary, however, to their expectation, the fire did not break out until after the seditious movement had been quelled.

Finding himself overpowered by the revolutionary party, M. Zea proceeded, with his two colleagues of the interior and of the war department, to inform the King of the late attempts committed against his authority; and accusing the other ministers of being accomplices of the insurgents, he demanded their dismissal, the exile of the chief of the police, and of all the leaders of the insurrection. The king hastened, in the greatest alarm, to yield to their wishes, and the cabinet became composed of some of M. Zea's friends, as little known as they deserved to be, it being his wish to have the sole management of state affairs.

He endeavoured, at first, to get reconciled to the Queen, who had been much offended at the removal of her dependants; she kept her apartments, and refused to receive the minister, who dreaded her soon recovering her ascendancy over the King's mind. Anxious to do what might prove acceptable to her, he anticipated the princess's wishes, and hastened to convoke the Cortes for the childish

and ridiculous ceremony of the *Jura**, with a view to the acknowledgement of the Infanta Maria Louisa Isabella, called to the throne in virtue of the pragmatic sanction of the 29th of March 1830.

M. Zea sent at the same time to Cordova, the Spanish ambassador, an order to wait upon the Infant Don Carlos, and to demand of him, in the name of his King, to declare whether he consented publicly to recognise his niece Donna Maria Isabella as Princess of Asturias, and to swear obedience to her on the assembling of the Cortes. M. Cordova presented himself at the palace of Ramalhaô†, where Don Carlos was then residing with his family, and communicated to him the object of his mission and the King's orders ; it was on this occasion that the Infant wrote that letter, an historical document, which accompanied his protest against the ceremony of the *Jura*, and in which he so nobly

* The *Jura* is a solemn act, by which the states and towns of the kingdom recognize a prince for their sovereign, and take the oath of fidelity in his presence: *Publicum fidelitatis juramentum.*

† Ramalhaô, a royal country residence, five leagues from Lisbon, near Cintra.

speaks the language of a brother and a subject, and claims general admiration by the manner in which he defines his political rights, as combined with the interests of his family*.

Don Carlos nobly responded to the expectations entertained of him by the Spanish nation, and proved to Europe that he only considered himself as the first subject of his brother, but that for the very reason that he respectfully bowed before the right which dwelt in the King's person, he would display no less energy in defending that right, if the death of the King his brother, without male issue, should transfer it to himself; Don Carlos was sustaining the vital principle of royalty, by contesting, to the life tenant of the crown, the right to modify the nature of its transmission.

Don Carlos confided to me, in the beginning of the month of May, the honourable task of bringing these highly important documents to England and France. His letter was published in the newspapers of every shade of opinion, and wherever it became known, it excited the liveliest interest. I was also directed to have it printed, and to circulate in France and Spain several very remarkable politi-

* See explanatory documents at the end of the work.

cal pamphlets, and an inquiry, as distinguished for its display of learning as for the force of its arguments, respecting the imprescriptible rights of Don Carlos to the throne of Philip V ; these conclusive documents were the conscientious work of the most celebrated Spanish lawyers. As soon as the printing of these documents was completed, I repaired to Bayonne, for the purpose of introducing the copies into Spain ; this was the most delicate part of my mission ; no smuggler would take charge of them, being apprehensive of incurring the severe penalties inflicted by the Spanish government on what they were pleased to term a crime of high treason. In spite, however, of every difficulty, I succeeded, by dint of zeal and perseverance, and after many painful and perilous journies from Fontarrabia to Jaca, in disseminating those historical documents, in great numbers, over the whole Peninsula.

I learnt, during my stay at Bayonne, that the ceremony of the *Jura*, for the acknowledgment of the Princess of Asturias, had taken place on the 20th of June. That ceremony, notwithstanding the splendour with which it was attempted to invest it, was remarkable from the sullen and general silence of the people, which created a strong impression on the minds of the whole diplomatic body. Never

had the Spanish nation manifested, in a more significant manner, the repugnance it felt at the innovations introduced in the fundamental laws of the monarchy. This nation, who had greeted their King Ferdinand, on his return from captivity in France, with an enthusiasm which partook of frenzy, and who had since given him so many proofs of love and attachment, had now conceived for him a mortifying indifference; they allowed no opportunity to escape of evincing that their sentiments towards him had undergone a change. Accordingly, these unequivocal signs must have admonished him that he had lost all his popularity, and they so sensibly affected him, that from that moment his illness assumed the most alarming character.

The venerable Archbishop of Toledo, Don Pedro Inguanzo* refused to assist at the ceremony; agreeably to the ancient usages of the monarchy, the princes, grandees, archbishops, titulars of Castille, and the other deputies, are always bound to make oath in the hands of the archbishop of Toledo,

* Don Pedro Inguanzo Ribera, formerly Bishop of Zamora, promoted by Leo XII to the rank of Cardinal in 1824, succeeded to Cardinal Louis Maria de Bourbon in the archbishopric of Toledo. This venerable prelate was born at Slanes, in the Asturias, in 1764.

in his character of primate of the Spanish church. Spain now beheld, for the first time, those high functions delegated to another grandee. The noble example set by the Archbishop of Toledo was followed by a great number of distinguished members of the clergy, who protested, by their absence, against this illegal assembly.

An attempt was shortly afterwards made, in the provinces, to enact a second representation of the political comedy of the *Jura;* that which was performed at St. Sebastian was honored by the presence of the Infant Don Francisco de Paula and his wife the Infanta Louisa Carlotta. The 17th of August was the day appointed for celebrating this allegorical fête in honour of Princess Isabella. A child in swaddling clothes, representing royalty, was placed in the midst of a troop of comedians, dressed in the costumes of the various provinces of Spain, who bore banners with the devices of each province, and singing, in their local idiom, hymns analogous to the occasion, came to make oath in the hands of a child. The little girl, who was intended to represent the youthful *Queen Isabella,* was seated between two young women, the one representing Justice holding the scales, the other Bellona with a sword

in her hand. This allegorical parade excited the contempt of the people, who testified their sentiments by the most significant silence.

I availed myself of this favourable disposition of the public mind, to spread in profusion the documents of which I was the bearer. A great many copies were sent to Madrid in the very trunks of the Princess Louisa Carlotta, who was far from suspecting how unwittingly she promoted the cause of Charles V.

I was unable to protract my stay at St. Sebastian, as I met at every moment the princess, or some of her attendants, who were all well acquainted with me. I therefore took out a passport, under a feigned name, for Ciudad Rodrigo.

I was informed, at this time, that the greater part of my pamphlets had remained at different places where I had deposited them, and that the persons who had taken upon themselves their circulation, had been frightened at the dangers they would have incurred in complying with their promises. I rekindled their courage by setting them the example; and took a great number with me, which I distributed along the road from St. Sebastian to Portugal.

I concerted measures with the royalists of Asti-

garraja, Villa-franca, Villa-real and Onate, was extremely well received by the commander of the royalist volunteers at the latter place, the whole population of which is devoted to H. M. Charles V, as well as those of Vittoria, Burgos, Valencia, Valladolid, Tordesillas, Toro and Zamora.

The Queen's partisans had spread the report that the Infant Don Carlos had embarked for Rome with all his family, and that a courier had brought the news of his arrival in that city. I hastened to contradict this report, which had been circulated in all directions, and had tended to discourage the royalist population.

The different juntas commissioned me to beseech the prince not to quit Portugal, at a moment when all Madrid considered his brother's death as so near at hand, but to open a correspondence with them, after designating the chief whom they were to obey after the demise of the King his brother.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of August, I crossed the frontier of Portugal, and overtook the royal family at Thomar; they had arrived from Coimbra, where they had had an interview with Don Miguel; this prince afterwards proceeded to join his troops which were besieging Lisbon; the two Infantas of Portugal remained with Don Carlos and his family.

On the morning after my arrival, I accompanied the royal family to Abrantes, where I had several conferences with Don Carlos. I imparted to him the apprehensions entertained by the royalists I had seen, lest the prince, who had been unable to hold communication with them, should have abandoned them to their fate.

Don Carlos replied that his protest, and his stay in Portugal proved, on the contrary, that he was resolved to place himself at their head, immediately after his brother's death, in order to assert his right to the throne. I observed to him that he should attend, in the first instance, to an organization of royalists, in order that he might not be taken unaware at that moment, when each one would claim to hold the command, unless he named before hand the chief in whom he vested his confidence. But he answered, with that rectitude of feeling which always governed his actions, that *his conscience was opposed to a step which might expose him to the suspicion of a guilty design to usurp the government of the kingdom, in the life time of the King his brother.*

Don Carlos communicated to me, at this interview, the letter he had received from King Ferdinand, in reply to the one he had written, when he addressed his protest to him. The perusal of that letter is suffi-

cient to prove that the sentiments it expresses do not emanate from the King; it exclusively bespeaks the opinions of the ministers, who wrote it in Ferdinand's name, and perhaps without his knowledge; for the suffering state of the King did not enable him to understand the bearing of what he was compelled to sign. In that letter, Ferdinand commanded his brother to proceed immediately to the pontifical states, and informed him of his dispatching one of his ships of war for his conveyance. This order of banishment had been elicited by the dread which the Queen's partisans felt at the presence of Don Carlos in a country adjoining Spain, from whence it was so easy for him to keep up a constant intercourse with his numerous partisans. After his brother's death, a very short distance separated him from his dominions, where so many sympathies were awakened in his favour.

Bent upon manifesting to the last moment his fidelity as a subject, Don Carlos determined to obey the King's orders, however tyrannical and unjust towards him; he hastened his preparations for departure, and did not hesitate in confiding his person, the Infanta his consort, and his three sons, to a captain of a ship of war who was a near relative of Louis de Cordova his personal enemy, appointed

by a ministry which he was justified in considering as interested in his destruction.

He caused an English merchant vessel to be freighted, for the conveyance of his suite and his equipages. Previously, however, to quitting Portugal, he felt desirous of taking leave of Don Miguel, and of the Infantas his sisters,* whom he had not seen since his arrival in Portugal. They met at Coimbra,† where the Infantas had the happiness of meeting and embracing each other, after their long separation. Don Carlos had left all his suite at Lisbon, with a great part of his equipages, which were already shipped on board the English vessel freighted by his orders, and he had only brought with him a small number of servants. He had scarcely been a fortnight at Coimbra, when he learnt the fatal news of the capture of Lisbon

* Isabella Maria, born in 1801, was regent of Portugal from the 10th of March 1826, to the 26th of February 1828.

Maria of the Assumption, born the 25th of July. 1825, died in March, 1834.

† A town in Portugal, capital of the province of Beira, on the right bank of the Mondego; it was formerly the residence of the Kings of Portugal, of whom it still preserves the tombs. It is remarkable for its cathedral and university; it numbers 18,000 inhabitants, is situated twenty-four leagues from Oporto, and forty leagues from Lisbon.

by the troops of Don Pedro. This city was evacuated by Don Miguel's forces without the slightest resistance. The virtuous Duke of Cadaval,* who was commander-in-chief of all the forces in and about the city, had assembled the commanders of the several corps in a council of war, in order to agree upon a plan of defence, but they all declared, with only one exception, *that they could not answer for their troops.* The Duke of Cadaval was thus reluctantly compelled to order a retreat upon Coimbra. The equipages of Don Carlos and of his suite were deposited under the care of the Spanish consul. The government of Don Pedro, secretly urged on by the partisans of Queen Christina, opposed their leaving the town. The princess's jewels were on the point of falling into the hands of Don Pedro's soldiers; they were saved by Don Jose Terreu, a faithful servant of the Infanta, and usher of His Royal Highness's chamber. The per-

* The generals who commanded under the orders of the Duke of Cadaval, were Camp-Marshal Joaquim Jose Maria de Souza Tavares, and his chiefs of the staff were Major Aureliano Jose de Mathos and Pinto Machado. These chiefs were incompetent to avail themselves, in any manner, of the troops under their orders, not even of the splendid royal police guard, which had displayed such signal bravery, and was so devoted to the King.

sons of Don Carlos' suite ran the greatest danger at the moment of the evacuation of Lisbon, and they had great difficulty in rejoining their master; I rejoiced at this occurrence, which prevented Don Carlos from embarking for Italy; and I urged the propriety of his renouncing all idea of leaving Portugal.

I left on the 5th of September, for Don Miguel's camp, and remained there in expectation of the recapture of Lisbon, where I was to fulfil a mission which the princesses had entrusted to me. I arrived on the 6th, at the head quarters of Count de Larochejaquelein. This brave general had lost, on the preceding day, his nephew and aid-de-camp, Louis de Larochejaquelein, who had perished under the walls of Lisbon, after performing prodigies of valour at the head of a detachment of cavalry; he was mortally wounded by two musket balls. Count de Larochejaquelein had his arm in a sling, having been wounded in his left wrist before Oporto on the 25th of July, after having had two horses killed under him. The valour he displayed, on that occasion, had obtained him from the Portuguese the surname of the *angel of battles.**

* General Count Auguste de Larochejaquelein had received ten wounds in the battle of the Moskowa, whilst making, with his

I waited in vain, during fourteen days, the expected recapture of Lisbon, and took part as a volunteer, serving in the first line, in the affair of the 14th September, which occurred on the right of the enemy's position. Don Miguel's generals had formed the design of surprising the enemy before day-light; they were unable to carry it into effect, for it was open day before the action commenced; the formidable artillery of our opponents compelled us to retreat after four hours fighting. Madame de Larochejaquelein arrived at the head-quarters of her husband on the following day; she had escaped by jumping over the garden wall of the Marquis of Belluno's house, which the Pedroite troops had surrounded. Her arrival caused a general joy in the camp. The Pedroite police was not more fortunate than that of the *juste-milieu;* and great was its disappointment at the escape of so valuable a prey. Madame de Larochejaquelein is one of those heroic women whose energy invariably rises with the danger; she is not terrified at the

regiment, the 1st carbiniers, repeated charges against redoubts as valiantly defended. Having been made prisoner, he refused to take service in Russia, and was wounded at the engagement of Mathes, in La Vendée in 1815, on which occasion his brother Louis de Larochejaquelein was killed by a shot in the breast.

noise and alarm of a camp life; and under every circumstance which has called for a display of devotedness and courage, she has proved herself worthy of her name.

The city of Lisbon had been rendered impregnable by the fortifications which the enemy had found time to complete; and I was the bearer of this sad intelligence to the royal family at Abrantes. I represented at the same time to the Infant, how important it was that I should return to Spain, make the royalists acquainted with his intentions, and establish a correspondence with Madrid by Coria, Palencia and Toledo, and with France by Salamanca, Valladolid and Burgos. I then made fresh attempts to overcome the prince's scruples, and induce him to write the letters of service, of which I had furnished him the plan, offering to be the bearer of them to their destination; but all was in vain; I found in Don Carlos a firm determination not to interfere, directly nor indirectly, in the affairs of Spain. His delicacy and rectitude of principle made him consider as a crime of high treason, every political measure he might have adopted, even on behalf of his rights, against his brother's government. The princesses joined me in deploring this determination; and with the view of repairing the injury which

the prince's scruples might inflict upon his cause, the Infanta Donna Maria Françesca gave me written powers, which authorised me to make known to the royalists their intentions, and which announced to them that I was possessed of their full confidence; Don Carlos merely consented to give a tacit approval to this letter.

I took leave of the royal family on the 23rd of September, and proceeded in the direction of Estramadura; after establishing, on this point, a correspondence with Madrid, I travelled along the frontier as far as Braganza, and procured, during this journey of a hundred leagues, some documents of the highest importance.

On the 5th of October, I crossed the frontier at Alcanices, in the province of Zamora. The official news of the death of Ferdinand VII, had arrived there on the preceding day.*

* King Ferdinand died on the 29th of September, at three o'clock in the afternoon; when it was attempted to wake him, he was found dead; he had not been able to receive the sacraments. He was born at St. Lorenzo, on the 4th of October 1784. He married in 1802, when Prince of Asturias, the Infanta of Naples, who died in 1806.

Charles IV having abdicated the crown on the 19th of March 1808, Ferdinand was proclaimed King, and shortly afterwards he

was conveyed as a prisoner to Valencay, where he remained until 1814, at which time he recovered possession of his crown.

He married for the second time in 1817, the Infanta of Portugal, Donna Isabella of Braganza. This princess died from the effects of a miscarriage, at the end of 1818. His third wife was Josephine Amelia, a princess of Saxony, who died at Aranjuez in the month of November, 1829. In the month of December following, he married Donna Christina of Bourbon, Infanta of Naples, of whom he had two daughters; the eldest, Donna Maria Isabella, was born in 1830; this is the princess to whom her father thought himself warranted in bequeathing his crown, by trampling under his foot the fundamental laws of the state.

The King's will, bearing date the 12th of June 1830, had been published in the official Gazette of Madrid; he therein confirmed the change arbitrarily brought about in the order of succession, and gave the regency to Queen Maria Christina, during his daughter's minority, assigning to her a council consisting of five individuals, namely:—the Bishop of Seville, the Dukes of Infantado and of Baylen, the Marquis de Las Amarillas, and the Count d'Ofalia. Agreeably to these dispositions, the Queen had assumed the reins of government, and confirmed the ministers in their several offices.—See at the end of this work, the various decrees which she issued on the occasion.

CHAPTER IV.

Death of Ferdinand—Retrospect on the state of the provinces.

As soon as the death of Ferdinand became known, the Queen summoned to her presence all the ministers, the generals, and the most devoted partisans of her daughter. The council sat in deliberation until a late hour of the night; a rising of the royalist volunteers, and of the whole population of Madrid, was apprehended. Every one at the palace was in a state of the greatest anxiety. Never did a more favourable occasion present itself, to the royalists of the capital, for proclaiming Charles V. The Queen and her ministers would have readily acknowledged him, provided their lives had been spared; but there was wanting a man of daring courage to direct the movement. The Queen found at last, after four days of uneasiness, that the people remained quiet; she recovered her compo-

sure, and ordered troops to surround the capital, with the view of suppressing any attempt in favour of Don Carlos. Then it was that the celebrated manifesto was published, in which the Queen promised to maintain untouched the fundamental laws of the state, and to oppose all dangerous innovations; she announced, in short, that she would surpass Charles V in royalist sentiments. This manifesto, which did not allay the fears of the royalists, only exasperated the liberals.

The news of the death of Ferdinand gave me the greater pain, as I knew that the Spanish royalists had no settled plan, had adopted no precautionary measure. I was in doubt whether I should not return to Charles V, and take his orders; but I reflected that three weeks would be lost on the journey. This time appeared to be far too valuable to allow of any further hesitation; I was, besides, provided with sufficient powers to procure the proclaiming of Charles V in Old Castille, knowing, as I did, the person designated by his Majesty to assume, in his name, the command of that province, one of the most important of the Spanish monarchy.

I proceeded at once to Valladolid. On arriving at Zamora, I warned the chiefs of the royalist

volunteers of that town to be in readiness to effect a movement, as soon as they might receive an order from General ——, whom his Majesty Charles V had named captain-general of that province. I left the same injunction at every place along the road.

I reached Valladolid on the 8th. General ——, whom I saw the same day, appeared much unnerved; he was, however, in a state of bodily suffering. I announced to him the King's orders that he should assume, in his name, the command of that province, and cause his being acknowledged. I added, that if he deemed the movement impossible in Valladolid, he might remove to such other place as would offer a better chance of success; to Zamora, for instance. This town presented, by its proximity to Portugal (from whence it was only separated by a distance of nine leagues,) a secure retreat in case of failure; its garrison merely consisted of one hundred and fifty men, whilst the royalist volunteers formed a battalion of upwards of five hundred. I proposed to accompany him thither, and to remain with him as long as he thought proper, engaging to go back for the King, and induce him to enter Spain at whatever place he might himself point out. He replied, that he

could take no determination until he had ascertained Saarsfield's intentions. "But should that general fail in his duty," I rejoined, "would you remain inactive?" He appeared embarrassed at this observation, and said to me, "My whole life is at the service of Don Carlos."—"His Majesty," I instantly retorted, "wants not protestations, but deeds. You are drawing upon yourself a weighty responsibility; for I am convinced, that ere two months shall have elapsed, all the royalist volunteers will be disarmed." The event has proved the justness of my apprehensions.

The general then inquired if the King had written to Saarsfield; I was not aware of it, but I said, that if he would announce to General Saarsfield, that his Majesty had confirmed him in his command, and named him his first aid-de-camp, I would myself be the bearer of his letter, and remain near the general until the King should have sent his approval of it. I could only obtain the same excuses and the same refusal, coupled, however, with great protestations of attachment. I withdrew, much displeased at the result of the interview.

I was consoled for this untoward occurrence, by the news I received from the northern provinces,

which had risen in mass against the troops of the Queen-Regent, and had proclaimed Charles V. The movement had commenced at Bilboa on the 5th, and was directed by the Marquis of Valdespina, Brigadier Zavala, and Xavier Batis, who were shortly afterwards named deputies of the lordship of Biscay. It rapidly extended to the provinces of Alava, Guipuscoa and Navarre. Charles V had been proclaimed at Vittoria on the 5th, by the royalists of that town, headed by their colonel, a deputy from Berasteguy, and by Brigadier Uranga; the new authorities replaced the old ones, who took to flight.

The province of Guipuscoa also hastened to acknowledge Charles V; the rising commenced at Onate, where the royalist volunteers, under the orders of their commandant, Don Jose Alsaa, and of Brigadier Lardizabal, took the field as soon as they learnt the death of Ferdinand, and caused Charles V to be proclaimed in all the towns and villages of the province. The brother-in-law of General Alsaa, a distinguished lawyer, and an officer in the battalion of royalist volunteers of Onate, was killed in the first engagement with the Christinos.

Camp-Marshal Santos Ladron, having escaped

from Valladolid, where he was closely guarded, repaired to Navarre, his native country, on the very day on which the news of the King's death reached that city. He was beloved by all his countrymen, who had had opportunities of admiring his bravery during the wars of independence and of the constitution. He exercised the greatest influence over the province, and proceeded at first to Los Arcos, where he was enthusiastically received by the whole population. On the day of his arrival, Charles V was proclaimed, and all the bells chimed in honour of the event; he was warmly seconded by Don Juan de Echeveria, a priest who was, at a later period, named President of the Junta of Navarre; he had soon collected four hundred volunteers.

General Antonio de Sola, Viceroy of Navarre, set a price upon the general's head, and sent against him Brigadier Lorenzo, with two battalions and above sixty horsemen. At some distance from Los Arcos, they fell in with Santos Ladron, who happened to be separated from his men. He might easily have escaped by flight, and prudence dictated this course; but taking counsel from his courage, he charged them at the head of a few men, was sur-

rounded on all sides, taken prisoner, and forthwith conducted to Pampeluna.

The order for his execution was wrung from the viceroy of Navarre by the loud clamour of the revolutionary party; Santos Ladron was shot, with one of his companions, on the 14th of October. This act of assassination compelled the royalist volunteers, who had hitherto evinced great moderation in victory, to resort to reprisals. Santos Ladron was forty-five years of age; he had commenced life in the legal career; but had laid aside the lawyers gown, to wage in company with Mina, the war of independence. His death was a worthy termination of his glorious life.

The population of Pampeluna was so exasperated at this execution, that a general rising was the consequence. Seven hundred young men left the town on the following day, to join the numerous guerillas which had already proclaimed Don Carlos.

This event spread dismay amongst his partisans, and revived the courage of the Christinos. Such a loss, at the very outset of the campaign, was in fact calculated to lead to fatal consequences, had not a skilful chief presented himself to replace him; this was Ituralde, who had served as second

in command under the orders of Santos Ladron. He assumed the principal command, and organised in a short time the two first battalions of royalist volunteers of Navarre, who have since acquired so brilliant a reputation in every engagement in which they have fought.

The gallant Colonel Zumalacarreguy soon afterwards made his appearance. He had escaped from Pampeluna, where he was very closely watched, ever since the revolution of St. Ildefonso, at which period his regiment was taken from him. He was instantly named commander-in-chief in the room of Iturralde. From this moment, the rising assumed far greater ramifications; two more battalions were formed, and the authority of Charles V was soon recognised over the whole of Navarre, with the exception of the fortified towns, which were defended by the elite of Christinos' troops.

This skilful chief was worthily seconded by Colonel Don Benito Eraso, who had also proclaimed Charles V.

Brigadier Cuevillas, ex-governor of Sarragossa, had likewise collected a considerable number of partisans at la Rioja, near Logrono; but the CurateMerino andBurgos, had not yet commenced

their movement. I was at a loss to account for the delay, since the junta of that province had commissioned me to announce to the Infant, that it would cause Charles V to be proclaimed, as soon as it should receive official intelligence of Ferdinand's death.

I instantly dispatched a *proprio*, (courier) to that junta, for the purpose of inquiring why it had remained inactive, and I summoned it to fulfil its promise. I received for reply that the dissentions which had sprung up amongst the leaders, had paralized every thing, but that the movement was to take place on the following day. Merino* accordingly,

* Don Geronimo Merino, better known in Old Castille by the name of Cura de Villaviado (the curate of Villaviado) rose from a very obscure family. His parents sent him to learn Latin at the college of Lerma; but he had scarcely reached the fourth class, when they ordered him home, and sent him to keep watch over their goats; he continued the life of a herdsman until the death of the curate of Villaviado. As no one was found to replace that priest, he was advised to enter the service of an old curate of Cubasrubias. After taking lessons for six months, Merino entered into holy orders, under his preceptor's guidance.

Merino is only fifty-eight years old. He is five feet two inches high, but is blessed with vigorous health, notwithstanding the apparent weakness of his frame. His features are strongly marked, his eyes large and deep sunk. No man was better calculated to bear fatigue for any length of time; he neither smokes

who had for many days been engaged in assembling his old lieutenants, put himself in motion on the 13th, and the commander of the royalist volunteers of Burgos, Don Jose Hilarion, followed his movement; he was shortly afterwards taken prisoner and shot.

nor drinks wine; he eats very little, and only sleeps fifteen minutes in the twenty-four hours. Whilst in the field, he always sleeps on horseback, or close to his horse, which is always ready saddled. Those who are under Merino's orders have never seen him pass a whole night amongst them. The moment the sun has set, he halts his men, orders them to encamp at a spot which he points out, and followed by a single servant, he leaves his troops, plunges three or four leagues into the forests, and only appears at sunrise the next day.

It is a matter of indifference to Merino, whether his troop be in uniform or not. He allows each man to dress as he pleases; and as for himself, he is clothed in the most wretched garb, and covers his head with the poorest hat. When he enters any town, he is only recognized by the beauty of his horse. His warlike weapons are a sabre, a pair of pistols, which he carries in his pockets, and a very small blunderbuss. He fills it with sixteen or twenty shot at a time; he generally keeps his powder in the holsters of his saddle. When about to fight, he takes a handful of powder, which he places in the barrel of his blunderbuss, and in order to fire it off, is obliged to place it under his right arm and to hold the extremity of the barrel with his left hand, in order to resist the shock produced by the explosion of this terrible weapon.

Merino is personally brave; he is also a fortunate man; and if

General Castagnon, Captain General of the province of Guipuscoa, at the head of the troops he had withdrawn from the garrison of St. Sebastian, and Jaureguy, surnamed El Pastor, who had formed a corps of partisans, composed to a certain extent of Spanish refugees, and of French deserters,

it be not impossible to seize his person, the task is at least a very difficult one. He has always two horses in his train, the finest perhaps and the best managed in all Castille. He has so accustomed them to proceed at an equal pace, that, however swiftly he may be riding, they always keep together and gallop as if they were one and the same body. When Merino feels that the horse he has been mounting is tired, he leaps upon the other, without standing at all in need of slackening their pace. He thus escaped from the Lusitanos, who under the order of Aymar defeated him at Palenzuela, at the commencement of 1823.

The space of forty leagues which separates Burgos from Madrid, is one of perfect safety for him. He can overrun every town and village within it, having no other escort than four men, and yet not incur the slightest danger, nor meet with any other enemies than the troops sent in pursuit of him; and the facility with which he eludes them is become proverbial.

When Merino wages war, he seizes upon couriers, and whatever effects appear to him to belong to the government against which he is contending; but if any one of his men commits the slightest robbery in the house of an individual, who, whatever may be his political opinions, has been inoffensive, a public execution is the certain forfeit of his crime. His soldiers are strictly forbidden to commit any act of robbery or plunder. No man is less

attempted in vain to arrest the progress of the insurrection; they were defeated at Tolosa, and compelled to seek refuge in St. Sebastian.

The French government, feeling alarmed at the progress made by the royalists all over Spain, and especially in the provinces adjoining France, endeavoured to raise the hopes of the partisans of the pretended Queen of Spain, by acknowledging her, and accrediting near her mother, in her character of regent, the Count de Rayneval, their ambassador. They also made demonstrations of interfering, in case of need, in the affairs of that kingdom; and with this intention they sent forward to the frontier of Spain a corps of 25,000 men under the command of Lieutenant General Harispe and of Count de Castellane. The acknowledgment, by France, of Queen Isabella had been made in concert with the English government, which hastened to follow the example.

ambitious than Merino. At the period of the war of independence, he became possessed, at Quintanapalla, of immense wealth belonging to the French, having seized a convoy consisting of several millions of francs, and of other valuable property. He distributed all the gold amongst his soldiers, who were actually glutted with it; and merely kept for himself a few dozen pair of silk stockings.

During the ten days of my residence at Valladolid, I changed my lodgings every night, in order to lead the police astray. The Duke of Castro Terreno, captain-general of the province, had sent his numerous agents in pursuit of me. Searches were made at all the inns, and in several suspected houses ; he had forbidden any one to leave the town on horseback, and had directed the gates to be closed at seven o'clock every evening.

In spite of these precautionary measures, I passed nearly two hours in the public prison with a distinguished personage, who pretended that he had important communications to make to me. I must acknowledge that, on entering it, I could not suppress a feeling of terror when I heard the heavy gates of the prison closing behind me. I reflected that if I should be discovered while in conference with the prisoner, these gates would never again be opened to let me out.

The last news from the northern provinces, and from the province of Burgos, were in the highest degree favourable to the cause. The forces of the different royalist chiefs amounted to 35,000 men, all armed and equipped. I hastened to return to Charles V, and communicate to his Majesty this cheering intelligence.

After having vainly made fresh attempts upon General ———, I started on the 20th of October to return to Portugal. On passing through Zamora, I saw the chiefs of the royalist volunteers of that place, and proposed to them that I should seize upon it, provided they would supply me with forty resolute men ; they would not venture to assent to my request, but promised that if the King should make his appearance in their province, they would take up arms, and range themselves under his banners. They were disarmed a fortnight afterwards.

This disarming will not create surprise, when it is known that the measure was a partial one, and was carried into effect on all points at the same time. The royalist volunteers never would have consented to it, if they had had chiefs competent to direct them ; but the greater part of the leaders, whose character and honourable sentiments gave apprehension to the government, had been banished their respective provinces.

The royalist volunteers of Madrid offered a firm resistance ; they retrenched themselves in their barracks, and fought with desperate courage. Had they been commanded by a daring chief, no doubt

the struggle would have been attended with the most important results, for many regiments of the guard would have joined them, Don Carlos would assuredly have been proclaimed in Madrid, and the regent would have fled in all haste; but being alike destitute of leader and of ammunition, they were compelled to surrender, and submit to the order for their being disarmed. What mostly contributed to this fatal event was, that the government had succeeded in obtaining possession of their artillery. More than a hundred of them were thrown into the prisons of the capital; those faithful royalists had contrived, whilst under confinement, to procure a portrait of Charles V and daily sang carlist hymns before it; two wax lights were kept burning day and night before this revered symbol of legitimacy. These unhappy men were condemned to transportation six months afterwards; their enemies had not the courage to condemn them to death.

This disarming did incalculable mischief to the cause of Don Carlos; but it would have produced no injurious effect in Old Castille, if the general to whom I have alluded had consented to assume the command of that province.

I crossed the frontier of Portugal on the 22nd of October, and after travelling day and night through detestable roads, again joined the King at Castello-Blanco, the chief town of the province of Lower Beira.

CHAPTER V.

Death of Ferdinand VII—Accession of Don Carlos to the throne, by the name of Charles V.

A MELANCHOLY event which Don Carlos had never desired, an event which he had always dreaded, because he had foreseen its fatal consequences, occurred to afflict his fraternal affections. Fortunate would it have been for Spain had the decease of Ferdinand VII happened a year earlier; the measures then taken by that monarch to ward off a civil war, by securing the crown to his brother, would have prevented the innumerable misfortunes which now desolate that country.

Don Carlos received the news of his accession to the throne with resignation rather than joy; he knew that the changes which had been introduced during the regency of Christina, had revived the hopes of the revolutionists, and that the Queen, convinced that her daughter would find her only

support amongst them, had called to the principal offices of the state the most influential members of this party. The King never doubted the excesses to which they would resort in order to accomplish the triumph of their cause; and the sanguinary events to which he foresaw that Spain would be exposed during these struggles, would have made him renounce the crown, if his love for his people, his conscience and his exalted piety as a monarch had not made him hold it as a crime to desert a post confided to him by that providence, which had marked him in virtue of his birth, as the legitimate inheritor of the Spanish throne.

The King was at Santarem,* when Cordova came to him, on the 4th of October, to announce the death of his brother, and to deliver to him, on the part of the Queen-Regent, an order to repair immediately to Italy.

The prince, forgetting the injuries he had received from this minister, gave him his hand to

* Santarem is a city of Portugal pleasantly situated in a fertile plain on the right bank of the Tagus; its antiquity ascends to the times of the Romans, who called it *Præsidium-Julium*; the early Kings of Portugal made it their residence. It contains ten thousand inhabitants, and is at twenty leagues distance from the frontier of Spain.

kiss, and asked him, with an expression of kindness, whether he acknowledged him as King. Cordova had the insolence to answer that he did not. The man who thus abjured his sovereign, was the same who had repaid with ingratitude the benefits he had received from this prince, and especially from the Queen, then Infanta, who, on the 7th July 1822, saved his life by receiving him with ten of his companions into her apartments; Cordova was then a cadet in the Spanish guards. From the moment of the arrival of Don Carlos and his family in Portugal, he acted as their implacable enemy; he set spies upon them, and by inducing the Pedroite government of Lisbon to seize their equipages, he deprived them even of their common wants: the grand cross of Isabella the Catholic was the worthy recompense of these services.

On the very day of receiving information of the death of his brother, Charles V, desirous, at any price, to avoid a civil war in his dominions, wrote to the Queen Dowager an affectionate letter, in which he assured her that she should be treated with all the consideration due to her rank; and, in order that the affairs of state should experience

no interruption, he confirmed the existing ministers, and the president of his royal council in their respective offices. His decrees on this occasion were addressed to the president of his council of ministers, with an order to provide for his immediate recognition as King of Spain.

He sent, at the same time, copies of his protest, signed with his own hand, to the president of his royal council, to all the great officers of state, to the bishops of his kingdom, and to the members of the diplomatic body; but these official copies, being intercepted by the ministers, could not reach their destination. M. Zea's answer was a new outrage on the King, whom he had the audacity to designate as *a disloyal prince— the disturber of the peace of Spain.* He threatened him, at the same time, with all the rigour of the laws, if he returned to Spain, and announced to him that it was intended to proceed at once to the sequestration of his property and that of his family.

On the 5th of October, Charles V, accompanied only by the Queen and some attendants, removed to Marvao, a fortified town of Alentejo, situated on the extreme frontier of Spain, at the side of Estramadura, for the purpose of placing himself at the head of any

troops which should make their appearance, and of marching upon Madrid. The Queen travelled on horseback by his side. This point was ill-chosen, for the cholera-morbus ravaged the frontier, and created great uneasiness in the Spanish villages, which had armed to prevent any communications with the infected districts; moreover, the population of this frontier is mostly ill-disposed, and Rodil, whose revolutionary opinions were well known, commanded in the province.

The King authorized Captain Arroyo, a friend of this general, to visit him, communicate to him his royal intentions, and induce him to order his recognition by the troops under his command. Rodil replied to this officer, that he had no more doubts than himself respecting Don Carlos' right to the crown, but that his honour was engaged in the cause of Queen Isabella. He invited him amicably to dinner, but in dismissing him, declared that if he again presented himself before him, he should be shot. The general has since proved that he is fully capable of executing such menaces. A less eligible station could not have been chosen; and accordingly the King, after having uselessly passed eleven days at Marvao, convinced that

Rodil's presence would paralyze every effort in his favour, determined to go to Castello-Blanco, where he was rejoined by his family.

If, instead of fixing upon Marvao, the King had stationed himself upon the frontier of Zamora, there is no doubt but he might have entered Spain by that province, the entire population of which, devoted to the royal cause, included many battalions of royalist volunteers, perfectly organized, who, on the appearance of the King, would at once have taken up arms.

Immediately on joining Charles V, I asked him if he had written to Saarsfield: he answered that he had not. I represented to him how important it was to put himself in communication with this general, who was at the head of 25,000 men, forming an army of observation on the frontier of Portugal. He inquired if it could still be done, and on my replying in the affirmative, he wished to know who would venture to carry his letter. *Yo si no hay otro*, I replied—I will, if no one else is to be found.

To this offer, the King answered that the order to shoot me having been sent to all points of the frontier, I should be exposed to certain death. His Majesty then confided to me a letter for this general, in which he announced to him that he

had named him commander-in-chief of his army of operation and his first aide-de-camp, and required him at the same time to have him recognized King of Spain by the troops under his orders. He gave me a second letter for the general commanding in Valladolid, of whom I have already spoken, containing an order for him to join his Majesty. I took leave of the King on the 10th of November, and proceeded in the first instance to Salvatierra, hoping to find there a smuggler who might conduct me to Salamanca, where, I had been told, General Saarsfield was stationed.

I did not find there the guide I was seeking, and I decided to set out alone for Almeida. This determination saved my life ; for the day after my departure, the Spanish smugglers, in this frontier town of Portugal, seized all the carlist refugees at Salvatierra, and delivered them up to General Rodil. As a reward for this infamous act, they obtained leave to return to their country, whence they had been obliged to fly in order to escape the punishment which awaited them.

On arriving at Almeida, a fortress three leagues from Ciudad-Rodrigo, I learnt that Saarsfield had left Salamanca to repair to Madrid.

The government of Christina finding that the insur-

rection in the northern provinces was much more serious than it had at first appeared, resolved to do their utmost to suppress it. It was requisite to find a general whose military reputation should offer a sufficient guarantee to the troops and to the nation. General Saarsfield alone could answer this expectation. But he had been many days in the receipt of the official intelligence of the death of Ferdinand VII, and of the order for the acknowledgment, by his troops, of his daughter as Queen of Spain. This recognition had not yet taken place; and the hesitation of the general in obeying the orders of the Queen-Regent, caused great anxiety to the government; a report had even been spread that Saarsfield had declared in favour of Charles V. Had this rumour been true, the general's decision would have spared much Spanish blood; Charles V would have been proclaimed throughout the Peninsula, and this civil war, which has cost the country so many men and such painful efforts, would have at once terminated. It is beyond all doubt that if the message with which I was charged had reached him in time, Saarsfield would not have hesitated in adopting the line of conduct which honour prescribed; unfortunately, this was not the case. After having hesitated some time

between his duty and the orders he had received, he at length determined to obey the Queen. Christina hastened to direct his moving the greater part of his troops upon Burgos, and repairing in person to Madrid. On his arrival in the capital, he received from the hands of the Queen the grand-cross of the order of Charles III, and his nomination to the vice-royalty of Navarre, with the command-in-chief of the troops destined to act in the provinces of the North. Saarsfield soon after set out for Burgos, the place of general rendez-vous ; but the high roads were occupied by royalist volunteers, and he only reached this city after much wandering through circuitous bye-ways.

Surrounded on all sides by carlist troops, Saarsfield remained above a fortnight shut up in Burgos. Already the partisans of the Queen, suspecting this inaction, accused him of treason, when he at length succeeded in effecting a *sortie* on the Vittoria road, and dispersing the various royalist corps which had assembled about Burgos, and which offered but a feeble resistance, he made his entry into Briviesca and advanced upon Vittoria.

This unfavourable intelligence did not induce me to give up my mission, though it almost deprived me of the hope of succeeding in it.

I was not more fortunate at Almeida than at Salvatierra, for no one dared accompany me; all were terrified at the violent measures in force against the agents of Charles V, and I was near Alcanices, thirty leagues further, before I met with a guide. I was warned that the man was a liberal, and might deliver me up to the Spanish government; but fatigued by the delays occasioned to a mission, the celerity of which offered its best hope of success, I replied, "Since heaven has at length provided me with a guide, I accept him, whatever his opinions may be."

On meeting him the next day at the appointed place, I thought it prudent to make an appeal to his loyalty, and said to him: "I have been informed that you are a constitutionalist; I do not require from you any account of your opinions, because I hold you to be an honest man; but I am condemned to death in Spain, and moreover, I have no passport. Are you willing to accompany me?" On his replying in the affirmative, I did not hesitate to engage him.

I had no cause to repent; before reaching Valladolid, it was necessary to cross the River Neva. How singular was the circumstance that in the absence of the boatman, a carabinier (a Spanish

gendarme) should ferry me over the river, himself directing the boat, and never thinking to ask me for my passport.

I met on the route several royalist chiefs to whom I delivered the King's orders, and the proclamations addressed to the army. On the 16th of November I arrived at Valladolid.

General ——— answered in writing to the King that ill-health made it impossible for him to obey his orders. I learnt at the same time that General Saarsfield was already beyond Vittoria, the numerous corps of royalist volunteers commanded by Cuevillas, Berasteguy, and the Curate Merino having dispersed at his approach.

Zumalacarreguy, who, as we have said, was commandant-in-chief of Navarre, had proposed to these leaders an excellent plan of campaign; but it was not adopted. To this refusal must be ascribed the progress made by Saarsfield, who continued his route upon Bilboa; which he afterwards entered without drawing a trigger. He then directed his march upon Pampeluna, to which fortress he also penetrated; but there his operations closed, as will be seen hereafter; Colonel Zumalacarreguy proved to him, that he had then a more skilful and formidable adversary to encounter.

As it was impossible to travel without a passport upon a route encumbered with Christino soldiers, I was obliged to renounce my intention, of myself presenting the King's letter to General Saarsfield, and I sent it to him by a confidential person. I was the more concerned at the dispersion of the royalists, as I had reason to hope, that if they did not march upon Madrid, they would at least have attempted to draw nearer to the King. But the want of organization, and of a fixed plan, the disunion which existed amongst the chiefs, and the embarrassments of an incipient insurrection, no doubt prevented their effecting a movement, which would however, have been accomplished, if the general of Valladolid had taken the command of Old Castille, according to the order which I delivered to him. As a senior general, all the other chiefs would have willingly obeyed him, and the rising in this, the most considerable province in Spain, would have been unanimous. It contained more than twenty-eight battalions of royalist volunteers armed and equipped. To this fatal indecision of General —— the prolongation of the cival war must be attributed.

During my sojourn at Valladolid, I was informed by several persons that the Captain-General Quesada, who had superceded the Duke of Castro Ter-

reno ; having learnt that I had re-entered Spain, had put a price upon my head, and had dispatched detachments of cavalry and infantry to trace me upon all the roads. They all entreated me to return to the King without delay ; one of them engaging to bring to him Saarsfield's answer, as soon as it should be received. I reluctantly acquiesced and took especial care to conceal these bad tidings from my already alarmed guide. I left Valladolid on the 19th of November, at nine o'clock in the evening, on my return to Portugal.

On the 21st. at 10 o'clock in the morning I was near Castro, a village situated on the banks of the Tormes. My guide, who recommended waiting till nightfall to pass the river, proposed my spending the day in the convent of the Bernardines. I afterwards learnt that the Bishop of Leon, disguised as a monk, had been hidden there several days, waiting for a favourable opportunity of passing into Portugal. I insisted on proceeding, and half an hour afterwards we crossed the water. This was a step on which I had occasion to congratulate myself ; for, four hours later each of the three boats was occupied by fifty soldiers of Quesada's army.

The convent above mentioned was about ten minutes walk from the river. The commander of

these three detachments took up his lodging in it, and was invited to dine with the monks ; during the repast, the Bishop of Leon asked him, what was the object of all these precautions. "To arrest a French colonel," replied the commander, "an agent of Don Carlos, who has already been several times in Spain, and should be in this neighbourhood at the present moment; but this time he will not get out of the country, for we have orders to deliver him up dead or alive to General Quesada."

On reaching the frontier, I learnt that the King was at Miranda-del-Douro, and hastened thither to communicate to him the result of my mission. I expressed my surprise at finding him so near the Spanish territory, in an open town, the garrison of which consisted of forty veterans only, and the King's suite of about seventy Spanish officers unarmed. I was of opinion that the King should remain at a certain distance from the frontier, to avoid attracting the attention of Christina's government, and should only approach it at the moment of making his entry into his kingdom.

I then learnt that this journey had been occasioned by information that twelve hundred men, upon whose attachment he could confide, were assembling at Astorga, and that his Majesty might

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securely repair thither. On Thursday the 28th of November, I received a letter from Zamora, which informed me that Rodil had entered that town, and proposed to seize upon the King and Queen at Miranda; I communicated it to Charles V who in consequence determined to change his residence, and fixed upon the 1st of December for his departure.

He was about to mount his horse, when he received intelligence that the Bishop of Leon had just arrived in Portugal. He sent me to receive him, and to inform him that he was going to Braganza. I joined the bishop at Constantine. Our joy was great in meeting after a year's separation; and I esteemed very fortunate the arrival of a friend, whose presence near the King might be so useful to the cause, and might exercise so great an influence upon future events.

Some hours after our departure from this village, Rodil arrived with two thousand men. He proceeded to Miranda, which he entered in the night: happily he was too late!

On the following evening, we rejoined the King at Braganza. He was waiting for us to pursue his journey, because a rendez-vous of Christino soldiers had been appointed on the frontier, under

the command of San Juanela, to make an incursion on the following day to Braganza.

Their Majesties, after devoting a few moments to the pleasure of meeting again this virtuous bishop, and respectable friend, who had given them so many proofs of attachment, quitted this town on foot, and did not mount their horses till they were a quarter of a league distant. The Bishop of Leon was too much fatigued to accompany them; and would not separate from me, we therefore slept at Braganza, he at the seminary, and I with our equipages in a private house.

The next morning at seven o'clock, as I was hastening to notify to the bishop, that it was time to be going, I met, near the seminary, the advanced guard of the Christinos; I ran forward to warn the bishop, and to persuade him to quit the seminary with all expedition, as the Christinos would not fail to search it. We had been two days incessantly exposed to the danger of falling into the hands of the Christinos, before we could entertain any hope of being enabled to rejoin the King. The hostile troops tired at length of ineffectual researches and fruitless enquiries, quitted Braganza, to retire to Spain; and despairing of finding us, they consoled themselves by seizing

our horses and equipages, carried my servant away prisoner, and no doubt shot him after their departure.

We were immediately visited by all the authorities of Braganza, who came to congratulate us upon upon our escape from the Christinos. We then proceeded towards Villa Real, where we arrived on the 9th of December.

The King by a decree, dated the same day, appointed the Bishop of Leon, his minister of justice, and charged him provisionally, with the signature of the other *portfeuilles*. He appointed me soon after his secretary, and officer to the secretary of state; I attended upon the Bishop of Leon till the 1st of January, when I was charged by the King with a new mission. But before I enter upon its details, the reader will be glad to be informed of the situation of the King.

In France and other countries of Europe, the position of Charles V was ill understood; it has long been so customary to behold Kings resigning themselves to their fate, that it is no wonder the apparent inaction of Charles V was misconstrued. I have already related his unceasing efforts to effect an entrance into his dominions, and that from the day following that on which he heard of his brother's

death, he had, accompanied by the Queen and some attendants, traversed on horseback the whole frontier as far as Braganza, exposing himself to be taken or assassinated by the numerous agents of Christina's party. Charles V was fully determined to enter Spain with any force he could collect, and the usurping government, well aware of his projects, feared the contact of the troops with him, withdrew those which were detached on the frontiers of Portugal, and concentrated them at a distance of several leagues. All these forces, under the orders of Morillo and Rodil scarcely formed a total of fifteen thousand men, to guard the frontiers of the greatest provinces of Spain, Galicia, Old Castille and Estramadura; these were, however, more than sufficient to prevent the King from uniting himself to his faithful provinces, situated as they were at the distance of near a hundred leagues from the spot where he was.

The King had at his disposal no more than a hundred and fifty officers, who had been successively brought to him at Villa Real, by the Generals Moreno, Merino, and Cuevillas, during the month of December, and a battalion which he had formed of royalist volunteers from Galicia and Castille. He might have organized other batta-

lions, had he been able to give them any pay, however small, and to provide for their equipment. But the destitution of the royal family, since the sequestration of their property, had been extreme.* They would in vain have addressed themselves to Don Miguel, who was not in circumstances to assist them. The little coin which still existed in Portugal, was hidden. The Queen and her august sister could obtain no more than a hundred thousand francs for their diamonds, and the cruisers of Don Pedro prevented the arrival of foreign succours. The King then found himself obliged to request three thousand men of Don Miguel, which this prince after some difficulties promised to furnish him. The King, with the three thousand Portuguese promised him, and the eight hundred Spaniards he had already organized, could, by a bold and rapid march, make his way into Biscay, before a hostile force, of sufficient strength to stop him, could have time to assemble. Besides the favourable disposition of the troops, which was only repressed by the vigour of discipline and the

* Don Carlos, who was always an example of economy, and a conscientious discharger of his debts, had above a million in store at Madrid, and was without any debt, when the sequestration of his property took effect; all his plate was also seized.

evil principles of some of the officers, gave hopes of numerous desertions, as soon as the King should shew himself at the head of a respectable force. The position of the royalists is now very different from what it was in 1821: at that period, they were headed by a weak and timid King, who constantly retreated before the revolution, and suffered his power to be snatched from him piecemeal; at present, their hopes and expectations repose upon a prince who knows the extent of his duties, and has taken a firm resolution to fulfil them Charles V is supported in this noble determination, which he will carry into effect with all the energy of a firm will and a rational courage, by the goodness of his cause and the justice of his rights, and by the sympathies of the Spanish nation, which has placed its hopes of future prosperity on the success of his arms.

The misfortunes of Spain would neither have been so long, nor so deplorable, if the sovereigns of Europe had understood their duties as thoroughly as Charles V estimated his. This prince has too high a sense of his dignity, to call foreign bayonets to the assistance of his cause against his misled subjects. It would have sufficed to ensure his rapid and general success, that the revolt against

his rights had not been in some sense legitimated by the presence of the foreign embassies at Madrid.

The King now waited only the arrival of the Portuguese reinforcement to effect his entry into Spain. General Cuevillas, at the head of a picked corps, armed with lances, had already thrown himself into Old Castille; the Curate Merino was to follow him closely, and several of his lieutenants had preceded him to reassemble his soldiers, who only waited his orders to renew the campaign.

The King, about to enter his dominions, considered it advisable to address to the sovereigns autograph letters, in which he asserted his firm resolution to defend his rights, and never to treat with the usurpation; he asked of them only arms and ammunition, and the concurrence of their authority, that the ill-will of the allies of Christina might not paralyse the efforts he should make; he asked that Spain should be left at liberty to decide between his rights and the pretensions of his niece, and that a foreign intervention should not make a revolutionary question of one which was purely national.

Such were the noble sentiments expressed in the royal letters, which I was commissioned to deliver

to the diplomatic agents accredited by Charles V to the courts of Europe, and in case of any of these agents not being at their post, I was myself accredited to perform their functions.

I did not hesitate to accept this mission, though the cruisers of Don Pedro, and the storms of winter, rendered a sea voyage very perillous at this moment. I took leave of the royal family on the 1st of January 1834, and embarked on the 5th at Caminha, a little port of the province of Minho, on board a vessel of fifty tons, freighted by Count V...., aide-de-camp to Don Miguel, and the Baron B...., a French officer. Chased by a Pedroite cruiser, we should have been overtaken, but for a dreadful tempest which for thirty-two hours rendered our situation seemingly desperate. If the winds had continued longer, we could not possibly have struggled against the fury of the waves. Despair was in the hearts of the crew; I alone confided in the justice of providence, and relied on its protecting a mission on which the welfare of an entire people might depend.

My presentiment was correct. Heaven took pity on us; the wind slackened, the sea became calm, and permitted us to proceed on our voyage.

On the tenth we disembarked at Falmouth; on

making the port, our captain wished to hoist the flag of Donna Maria, which we opposed, and the Portuguese flag was retained: and for the last time the colours of Portuguese legitimacy were exhibited in a British port. This event caused such a sensation, that the Pedroite funds in London experienced a considerable fall; for some moments it was believed on change that the blockade of Portugal had been abandoned.

On my arrival in England, I received news from the Spanish provinces which had proclaimed Charles V; I learnt with joy that Zumalacarreguy had gained some signal advantages over the rebels, who were terrified at the sound of his name. This chief had succeeded in imposing upon the guerillas a discipline equal to that of the best troops of the line; in a few months, he had worn out the three most celebrated generals of the Christino party: Saarsfield, Valdez and Quesada.

The braggart Quesada, a deserter from the ranks of legitimacy, who had promised the Queen to terminate the Navarrese war in a few days, no longer dared to face his formidable enemy, who had beaten him in every encounter. Quesada narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Zumalacarreguy, and owed his safety solely to the valour

of Leopold O'Donnel, who, with a company of the guard, which he commanded, arrested the enemy's march and dearly purchased for his general time to escape. This brave officer and all his company were made prisoners.

The lieutenants of his Majesty in Biscay had also gained a brilliant victory at Guernica. This news, which I learnt in London, were the more agreeable to me, as for nearly two months we had heard nothing from the theatre of war; I hastened to communicate them to the King, by addressing to him the English journals which contained the details; by a fortunate chance these despatches escaped the vigilance of the blockaders.

By reading the journals to which for a long time I had been a stranger, I found that the pretended inactivity of Charles V had been misconstrued, and that his situation was not understood. I hastened to undeceive the public by a correct statement of the facts.

At the same time, I denounced, as apocryphal, the proclamations which several journals had published as having emanated from Charles V or his council. The King had published but two proclamations, the one, addressed to the army, promised to the officers and subalterns who should

join his standard, or to the different chiefs who should defend his rights, the superior grade, and to the soldiers, the year of grace, the higher pay, and the other advantages which had been granted to them by the rules of 1820, and of which the minister of war, Zembrano, had deprived them; the other proclamation was addressed to the Spaniards; Charles V promised them an amnesty for all political delinquencies prior to his accession to the throne. The pretended proclamation attributed to the Bishop of Leon, on the subject of the re-establishment of the inquisition, is altogether apocryphal, a forgery fabricated in the offices of Christina's police.

From Paris, I addressed, by a safe conveyance, the King's despatches to several Spanish generals, and to the president of the Junta of Biscay. The autograph letters for the sovereigns, I remitted with the diplomatic notes relative to this important communication, to the agents accredited at the several courts, and designated by the King.

We ought to declare, to the honour of the Spanish diplomatists, that the greater number of them have remained attached to the cause of Don Carlos, and have refused to serve the usurping government. But we may cite in particular,

amongst those who have chiefly distinguished themselves by their fidelity, the Chevalier Alvarez de Toledo, the Marquis de Labrador, the Count de Alcudia, and the Chevalier de Vallejo.

The Chevalier Alvarez de Toledo was on leave of absence at Naples when he learnt the death of Ferdinand VII, and he hastened to send to Queen Christina's minister for foreign affairs, the resignation of all his offices and dignities, declaring that he recognised Charles V only, as King of Spain.

The Count de Alcudia is one of those royalists who have never tampered with their principles; his administration of foreign affairs has left honorable remembrances of probity, disinterestedness and ability, and he has shewn great talent in the diplomatic missions which have been confided to him; he was amongst the first to recognize Charles V, and has rendered eminent services to his cause.

The Marquis de Labrador is a man of whom any country might be proud, a character of high Castilian loyalty. Vested in 1808 with full powers from Ferdinand VII to treat with the Emperor of the French, on the subject of his renunciation of the Spanish crown, he courageously resisted the blandishments and menaces of a man whom, at

that period, no one in Europe resisted, and saved by his firmness, if not the crown, at least the honour of his master; a long and severe captivity was the recompense of this heroic conduct.

The sovereigns of the North, deceived by the correspondence of M. Zea, who had undertaken to repress the revolutionary flame with which Spain was menaced, were about to recognize the usurping government of that country, when the minister fell, and his system with him.

In vain M. Zea attempted to struggle against public opinion by creating a mixed opinion, a Spanish *juste-milieu*, which could never have any chance of success in a country where hatred and sympathies are alike strong, acute and unalterable, and submit to no conciliation for interested purposes. M. Zea could not sustain his position, because he was not supported by the national party. In vain he declared aloud, in his famous manifesto, published on his entry into the ministry, that he would oppose every dangerous innovation; in vain he promised to preserve intact the fundamental laws of the kingdom; he found it impossible to redeem his pledges. How indeed could he enter upon such an engagement at the moment when he was labouring to overturn a law,

which the Spanish people regarded as the guarantee of its welfare and prosperity. He was visibly blinded by hatred to one of the most virtuous princes of Europe. This hatred was of long standing; in 1824 he had shewn to what an extent it could lead him. The people desired that justice should have its course, and he would have been its victim, as well as his colleague General Cruz, but for the generosity of those he had persecuted. He was too happy in being permitted to sink into oblivion, in the quality of minister to a petty court of Germany.

The diplomatic note which M. Zea addressed to the envoys at the several foreign courts, after the death of Ferdinand VII, exhibits his ignorance of the situation of Spain and of the Spanish character; those who knew M. Zea were not surprised; well aware that this minister, who had been absent from his country ever since the war of independence, had returned to it very little conversant with its affairs, or with the position of the different parties in the state.

The persecutions he exercised against the most honourable persons of Spain, proved that time had operated no change in his character; his friends pretend that he was compelled to this course; but persons of judgment are of opinion that if he had

not the courage to prevent their adoption, he should have had honour enough to retire from office; his fall was decided from the moment that the chiefs of the constitutional party should be strong enough to maintain themselves without him.

His successor, M. Martinez de la Rosa, a very witty dramatic author, but very indifferent statesman, had already been minister in the time of the Cortes.* The first acts of his administration were the recal of the deputies of the Cortes, who had voted the forfeiture of Ferdinand VII, and the creation of the Urban militia. This militia was composed of Spaniards who had given guarantees to the constitutional government. The arms which his predecessor had had taken from the royalist volunteers, he delivered to the Urbanos.

M. Martinez de la Rosa, a passionate admirer of the French form of government, wished to transplant it into Spain, without calculating that the

* His colleagues were Nicholas-Maria Garreli, Joseph Vasquez-Figueros, Joseph Imaz, Zarco-del-Valle, and Xavier Burgos. The two last survived the administration of M. Zea; M. Burgos was sometime afterwards obliged to resign his office to M. Moscoso de Altamira. The chamber of peers afterwards rejected him from its bosom, for having sacrificed, in a financial mission, the interests of the government to his own private interests.

wants and customs of his country differed from those of France. By his influence, the Queen published on the 10th of April, 1834, *The Royal Statute.* He thought by this concession to satisfy the demands of his party.

He called to the highest offices in the civil and military administration a great number of his friends, the companions of his exile. It was while surrounded by such men, and harrassed by the often factious chambers, that he fancied he could pursue M. Zea's system.

The massacres of Madrid and Sarragossa, the revolutionary movements of Seville, Malaga, and many other points of the kingdom, must have proved to him that it will be impossible to obtain the object he has proposed to himself, and that he will soon be compelled to resign his place to San Miguel or Galiano.*

This first step once taken, a semi-republican constitution will place the crown on the head of the

* The fall of M. Martinez de la Rosa has not been long deferred. While this work was in the press, news was received at Paris of the Count de Toreno having superseded him in the presidency of the council, and the ministry of foreign affairs. The decree of the Queen is dated from Aranjuez, 7th June.

Infant Don Francisco de Paula, or a republic will be proclaimed. The revolutionists would already have accomplished this result, if Don Carlos had been vanquished ; the fall of Isabella would have followed close upon his defeat.

CHAPTER VI.

Return to Portugal—Detention at Vigo—State of the affairs of Charles V.

On the termination of my mission, I went to Plymouth, where I took my passage for Portugal, on board the cutter Express, the cargo of which consisted of arms, ammunition, and other articles of military equipment; unable to obtain a berth in the cabin, I was obliged to take refuge in the magazine, and to establish my bed between the barrels of powder. We set sail on the 12th of March.

I think it may be useful to enter upon the episodes of this voyage, to prove how disloyally the maritime police of the shores of the Peninsula was constituted, and the sort of respect paid by the government of Christina to the rights of nations.

We had nearly passed the Spanish coast, and

reached that of Portugal, when a Spanish brig of war captured us, and carried us prisoners into Vigo, upon pretence that our cargo was destined to assist Charles V.

The two vessels were towed by a Pedroite steamboat; which came up about the same time with the Spanish brig. I demanded my liberty, on the plea that the passport I had obtained in England, under a feigned name, had been inspected by the Pedroite ambassador at London, that it was regular, and that I was placed on the captain's register as a passenger going to Lisbon on commercial affairs. My claims were disregarded; I was kept prisoner on board, as was an English passenger in a similar case, Mr. Bollart, who showed great coolness and presence of mind during the visit of our captors. They put us separately into solitary confinement, forbidding any communication, even with our respective consuls. A numerous guard was put on board our vessel, with loaded arms, and orders to fire upon us at the smallest attempt to escape. Our vessel was under the fire of the guns of the brig which had captured us, and of the batteries of the town.

The Governor of Vigo came the next day, accompanied by all the authorities of the town, to

take an inventory of our vessel. They made the most minute researches to discover some papers which should prove who we were, and for whose use the arms with which we were laden were intended, but without any success. I had even taken the precaution of picking out the marks on my linen. As a simple passenger, no maritime law compelled me, on embarking, to enquire what was the destination of the vessel, or the nature of its cargo. Several chests were opened, which contained a great number of pamphlets, amongst others a little tract which I published in 1833, under the title of *A true Statement of the Events which have taken place in Spain since the commencement of the King's illness at St. Ildefonso.* As these gentlemen did not understand French, I begged the honour of translating some passages to them, and chose those which contained the highest eulogiums on Charles V. Many of them attributed this little work to some carlist, who was sending it from France for translation; nobody suspecting that the interpreter was the criminal. I also read to them the noble protest of his Majesty Charles V, and made them remark the fine sentiments expressed in the letter by which it was accompanied.

They could not avoid agreeing that the King was a conscientious man.

The captain of our vessel declared, that the chests of his cargo which bore no marks, had been committed to him at Plymouth, and were destined for Gibraltar.

It is unnecessary to remark, that I made the most energetic remonstrances to the governor, against the arbitrary detention to which I was subjected. I made him responsible for my commercial losses in consequence. I pointed out to him that my passport was regular, and that, on taking a passage in a vessel, one is not obliged to ascertain the nature of its cargo; that, moreover, we had been stopped on the open sea, and consequently, that our capture was illegal, and contrary to the rights of nations.

After having interrogated every individual on board, and inspected all their effects, they carried three men away, upon pretence of suspecting them to be Spanish officers, and shut them up in the dungeons of the citadel.

The treatment of these three unfortunate persons, by the Spanish general, seemed to me so barbarous, that I made loud complaints of it in a letter to one

of my London correspondents who was in my secret. This letter, which, according to order, was transmitted open to the general, was translated into Spanish, to be joined, as additional testimony to the official statement of the capture of our vessel. The severe lessons it afforded were generally approved by all those who read it, and contributed to soften the rigorous measures which were adopted towards us.

A week after our arrival in the bay of Vigo, the steam vessel in which Lord Russell, late British minister plenipotentiary at Lisbon, was returning, to London, cast anchor close to us. I wrote to his grace a description of my situation, and entreated him to receive me on board his ship. As soon as he learnt who I was, he sent me word that he would gladly do all in his power for me, and he would write the following day to inform me in what manner I might come to him. He speedily, however, forgot his promise, and went away without thinking of me. I have since understood that he was in fear of the Spanish police, which paid a visit to his ship the moment he had quitted it.

I was not more fortunate in my subsequent application to Captain Lockyer, commanding *the Stag* English frigate; the same ship which afterwards

conveyed Don Miguel to Genoa. Thus did those two Englishmen sacrifice, to fear, an act of generosity which might have saved my life ; there were not so many difficulties to overcome when the point in question was to give an asylum to Pedroites, flying from what they called *the persecutions of the monster Don Miguel.*

This double refusal did not subdue my courage ; I waited for another opportunity, fully determined not to let one escape. Five and twenty days had already elapsed and no ship arrived. I continued to write to our consul, to urge his requiring of the general the cessation of my arbitrary detention ; at the same time I threatened the consul, in case of his refusing me the protection to which I was entitled, to complain to the French government and the chambers ; I received no answer, but this is not to be wondered at, for since the death of the former consul, who was a Frenchman, his functions have been filled by a Spaniard.

I then addressed myself to the general, and shewed him how the treatment I received was contrary to the rights of nations ; that I made no doubt, my government would demand satisfaction from the Spanish government, who would supersede him for having thus acted without orders.

The general, in great alarm, permitted me and the

English passenger to disembark, assigning the town for our prison under the guarantee of our consuls. He informed General Morillo that we continued in solitary confinement on board our ship, conformably to the orders he had received from him; they were resolved at any rate to learn who we were, and therefore waited for fresh instructions from Madrid.

For my part, I was equally determined not to wait for these instructions, but sought with all expedition for a guide to conduct me to the Portuguese frontier at a distance of ten leagues; but I encountered many obstacles in pursuing these researches in a town, the population of which was, in general, ill disposed, and where I knew no one; at length, however, I found a man, who upon a promise of some ounces of gold, consented to accompany us.

It was agreed that we should set out on the following evening, the 17th of April, at eight o'clock. We invited the authorities of the town to dinner for that day, and the better to conceal our projects, did not quit our guests till seven o'clock. The English passenger, and one of our guides, proceeded to the spot of general rendez-vous, where horses were to be stationed. I went, meanwhile, on board *the Express* to fetch my portmanteaus and

other effects, consisting of military saddles and arms : I had left them in the vessel, because had I introduced them into the town, I could not have carried them away without attracting the attention of the police.

I then rowed to the spot on shore where my guide was to have been ; I waited for him nearly three hours ; my anxiety was extreme ; I feared that our project had been discovered. Notwithstanding the distance of this place from Vigo, I determined to return thither ; but this indispensable proceeding had nearly caused my destruction. My companion in misfortune had, by his imprudence, given the police some suspicion of our projected flight ; this I was told in great haste by the guide's wife, who assured me that her husband had long ago set out with my companion. While I was talking with her, the Alcalde, followed by several Alguazils appeared, and I had only time to slip off by a back door, and to hurry back to the place where I had left my boat.

I took from it a portmanteau with my arms, and abandoning the rest of my baggage, thought only of making the best of my way to the place of rendez-vous ; but the difficulty was to find it. Fortunately I remembered that it was called the *Campo*

de Grenada. I prevailed on a young man whom I accidently met, for a great reward, to accompany me thither.

After walking for half an hour, by almost impracticable paths, I at length came up to my travelling companion, who had been at the rendez-vous since eight o'clock, it was now eleven. We mounted our horses, and the next morning at eight o'clock we were near the Minho, which separates the two frontiers. The boatman, who had had notice, was in waiting; in an instant we were on the left bank, and found ourselves in the province of Entre Douro e Minho. I have since learnt that the poor boatman was taken and shot.

New dangers were in reserve for us in Portugal, we travelled for eighty leagues through provinces already occupied by Pedroite troops, and we were once obliged to return into Spain, to avoid the columns of Don Pedro.

In fact, an expedition composed of about seven hundred marines, commanded by Admiral Napier, had landed without resistance a fortnight before, in the ports of Caminha and Vianna. The chief part of the garrison of these two places passed over to the Pedroites; the remainder marched towards Braga, the capital of the province of Minho, the

Pedroite expedition pursuing them. This movement was in combination with that of a division commanded by the Duke of Terceira, (Villaflor), who had quitted Oporto to attack the Miguelite army in its lines of Santo Tyrso. The Count d'Almer was no longer at the head of that division of the army, the confidence of which he had won during the nine months that he had commanded it, and had beaten the enemy every time he had attempted to pass his ramparts. The count had been sent into the Alentejo, where his services were of much less utility. His successor General Remundo, Governor of Braga, took to flight at the approach of the enemy. The Brigadier Cardoso then assumed the command, and after a sanguinary battle, effected his retreat upon Vizeu, thus abandoning the three finest provinces of Portugal to the enemy. The Duke of Terceira hastened to displace all the Miguelite authorities, and to have Donna Maria proclaimed. Rodil, who had entered Portugal by Almeida, followed the movements of Terceira.

Thus during eight days we travelled amongst the troops of the Duke of Terceira, and those of Rodil; as for those of Don Miguel, they were in a state of complete disorder; we met, throughout

the route, with the wrecks of the garrisons of Almeida, and other fortified towns which had opened their gates to the Pedroites.

Near Vizeu we met the division of the Miguelite General Cardoso; his troops were disorganized, and were marching in the greatest confusion. This melancholy result will cause no surprise to those who know that this general was entirely deficient in military capacity, and inspired no confidence in his soldiers; we heard several officers loudly declaring that the Count d'Almer alone could repair these disasters, and that his removal had been caused by treason.

I had an opportunity of seeing in this discomfited army, the young Martin de Puiseux, an officer of the greatest merit, who at Santo Tyrso, had been wounded in the face.

He commanded a regiment of cavalry, of which two squadrons alone remained. The picture he drew of the state of the Miguelite army was far from consolatory. This brave young man was mortally wounded soon after, being struck by several balls in the last battle of legitimacy against usurpation. He then commanded all the cavalry in quality of brigadier, and performed prodigies of valour; seeing that victory was escaping him, he would not survive the disasters of this unfortunate

army, but fell with it. His loss was deeply felt by all who knew him.

Nothing but scenes of desolation presented themselves on every side. The inhabitants, with tears in their eyes, continually said to us: "We are all lost, our good King has been sold by the traitors who surround him; our country is invaded by foreign hordes; we submit to force, but Don Miguel will always reign in our hearts." We could not hear these melancholy lamentations without being affected.

We had much difficulty in discovering the retreat of the royal family of Spain; but at length, after a march of fifteen days, we found them at Chamousca, a small town situated on the banks of the Tagus, between Abrantes and Santarem.

The King had the goodness to explain to me the causes which had prevented his effecting an entrance into Spain. Don Miguel had found it impossible to send him the troops which he had promised; and the recent disasters of his army, which could with difficulty defend the provinces of Tras-os-Montes and the Minho, had compelled him to retreat to the interior.

The King at first retired to Lamego, but the progress of the Pedroite army and the movement of

Rodil obliged him to repair to Vizeu, the capital of Lower Beira. A few days after his arrival there, he was joined by a dozen Spanish officers whom I had left at Plymouth, ready to embark for Portugal. Their vessel, more fortunate than ours, bearing indeed no suspected freight, reached Viana the day before Admiral Napier's entrance into that port.—Amongst them were three officers from the northern provinces of Spain, and the intelligence they brought of Zumalacarreguy's success greatly rejoiced the royal family, who had not previously received any direct from that quarter; for though the King had dispatched several of his followers to the north, none had been able to reach Zumalacarreguy. Christina's police displayed considerable energy, and many devoted agents of Charles V were either arrested or compelled to return to Portugal. Similar obstacles presented themselves on the frontiers of the insurgent provinces, and hindered the persons sent by Zumalacarreguy to the King from fulfilling their mission. Many of those confidential emissaries were shot on the frontiers of Portugal; and Don Chrisostomo Vidaondo, dispatched by the Junta of Navarre, of which he was a member, on his way to Bourdeaux for embarkation, had been unable to escape the blockade.

The King hastened to send to Zumalacarreguy his appointment as Viceroy of Navarre, with the rank of maréchal-de-camp, and to confirm in the command of the other provinces, the generals who had been called to it by the choice of their fellow-citizens, granting them very extensive powers, as well as to the several juntas, the members of which were also confirmed; an advance of grade was granted to all the chiefs. One of the newly arrived officers, being charged with the dispatches, left Vizeu at the beginning of April, and happily arrived at his destination.

His Majesty, desirous of drawing near to Spain, to obtain a more easy communication with the insurgent provinces, set out for Guarda, a strong town of Upper Beira, eight leagues from the frontier.

The King, in despair at the state of compulsory inaction to which he was reduced by the total want of troops and money, exerted himself to the utmost to find means of passing into Spain, that he might place himself at the head of so many faithful subjects who were gloriously maintaining his rights in Navarre, Biscay, Alava, and Guipuscoa; and in this irritating situation was induced to follow councils which had nearly ruined him.

Two of the generals who had joined his Majesty shortly after my departure for London, advised him to present himself at the advanced posts of Rodil's army, persuaded that the sight of the King would suffice to draw the troops over to his standard, advice the more imprudent since Rodil had already, as I have before stated, obstinately refused to obey the King's orders.

Charles V was far from sharing their delusion, but willing to prove that he did not fear to expose his life in the service of the cause, he yielded to their wishes; and himself appointed fifty of the best mounted officers to accompany him to a small village only a quarter of a league distant from Rodil's advanced posts. The royal family remained at Guarda, awaiting with the greatest anxiety the result of so perilous an expedition.

The sight of the King produced a movement of hesitation among the troops, but Rodil perceiving it, ordered an evolution of two squadrons of cavalry to surround the King's escort; whereupon his Majesty retired to Almeida, a fortified town, with a Miguelite garrison, at only a league distance. Rodil followed his movement, invested the town, and summoned the governor to open its gates. The latter answered with his guns, which threw one

squadron into confusion, and the King then consulted his artillery officers on the defensive state of the place, who assured him that in case of attack it could not hold out three hours, besides which, the spirit of the garrison was not to be trusted; the following day they proclaimed Donna Maria. The King therefore saw himself under the necessity of retreating, which he did by a point the enemy had not taken the precaution to occupy, and rejoined his family at Guarda. On this journey of eight leagues, he narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade; the road which his guides had pointed out was already in possession of an enemy's detachment; but by one of those inspirations which several times saved his life during his wanderings, he took a cross road contrary to the advice of his guides, and to that resolution he owed his safety. Harassed by Rodil, who closely pursued him, the King was presently obliged to abandon Guarda, which no longer afforded security to his family, and repaired to Chamousca.

It was during this retreat that Rodil seized the baggage of the royal family and of their suite, together with fourteen unarmed domestics, who were attending it, and who were all shot. Thus

an expedition which might have cost the King's life, had no further result than the loss of every thing the royal family at that time possessed, reducing them to the most complete destitution, so complete indeed that they were deprived of the most indispensable conveniences, even of a change of linen. The Queen herself told me, with her usual gaiety and angelic resignation, "I have absolutely nothing left but what I have on."

CHAPTER VII.

Transactions in Portugal till the capitulation of Evora.

I DELIVERED an account of my mission to the King, and faithfully represented to him the situation of the provinces which had acknowledged his authority, informing him of the successes attending the operations of his lieutenants, which would have been much greater, had their efforts been directed by a single chief.

Zumalacarreguy's exploits had fixed on him the attention of all Europe; the first campaign of that intrepid soldier announced him to be the most surprising warrior of the period, uniting to the bravery and military science of a great captain, the genius of a skilful tactician. At once a general and an administrator, he first created the resources with which he afterwards triumphed over the enemy,

wherever he encountered one. His eminent abilities had not escaped the observation of Charles V, who, to satisfy the wishes of his faithful provinces, confided to that excellent officer the general command of his troops. The combination of various powers in the hands of so able a man, was expected to impart to the operations of the royal army a unity which had hitherto been wanting. The impulse given by a single head could not fail of producing a happy result, and rivalries must disappear before the royal will, which all would be eager to obey.

His Majesty felt the necessity of centralizing his executive administration, and therefore named a general junta, over which the Marquis de Valdespina was to preside, and of which the presidents of all the local juntas were to be members, in order to methodise the civil government; and he soon afterwards sent to Zumalacarreguy his nomination as commander-in-chief of all the forces in the four provinces which recognized his authority, empowering him by another decree to organize the central junta.* These despatches, with several others,

* This is selected as the best opportunity of laying before the reader authentic details of the military career of Zumalacarreguy, restricting ourselves to those facts which belong to his services

scarcely less important, were confided to a young Portuguese diplomatist, who set out a fortnight be-

under the reign of Ferdinand VII. The extraordinary events of his life since the accession of Charles V to the throne, are sufficiently known to all Europe, and will moreover occupy a large space in these memoirs.

Don Thomas Zumalacarreguy was born at Ormaistegui, in the province of Guipuscoa, Dec. 29th, 1788; he entered the service as a cadet at the commencement of the war of independence in 1808, and speedily attained the rank of captain. The command of one of the companies of the infantry regiment of Bourbon was conferred upon him in 1815, but that corps being disbanded, he was transferred first, to the regiment of Vittoria, and subsequently to that of the military orders. On the proclamation of the constitution in 1820, he was denounced by his comrades and his superiors, for his monarchical opinions and repugnance to revolutionary ideas; the hatred of the constitutionalists was carried to the extent of refusing to serve in the same ranks with him; and petitions were presented to the general in command of the division, demanding the erasure of his name from the military rolls, which the general was weak enough to grant provisionally, in expectation of the government orders; these orders never arrived; the injustice of such a requisition was acknowledged, and a command sent to the general immediately to restore Captain Zumalacarreguy to the enjoyment of his rank.

His regiment was sent into garrison at Ciudad Rodrigo, in May 1822, and from thence despatched to Navarre, when that first insurrection was attempted against the constitution which proved fruitless, though some royalist bands made a courageous demon-

fore us from Evora, but unfortunately did not arrive in England till a fortnight after us, consequently they could not reach their destination.

stration. The regiment remained at Pampeluna till the month of June, the period of the second rising, the event of which was more fortunate than that of Navarre. A few days after his arrival, Zumalacarreguy received orders to repair to the captain-general at Vittoria. He set out, accordingly, leaving his wife and young infant behind; he had scarcely reached the village of Huarte-Araquil, when he met a party of armed men, calling themselves a royalist band. Zumalacarreguy, to avoid them, retired into a house, where they presently followed in search of him, and he surrendered without resistance. The leaders of the band were brigands recently escaped from the prisons of Pampeluna, where they were awaiting their trial for the assassination of a lady of Tolosa. Though perfectly well informed of the sentiments of Zumalacarreguy, and of the two officers his companions, whom the same orders called to Vittoria, these freebooters stripped them of everything they possessed, and detained them prisoners for a fortnight, in the mountains of Analar, threatening every instant to shoot them without remorse. Quesada, at that time the royalist commander of Navarre, hearing of the violence offered to these officers, immediately marched with his division towards the valley of Roncal, and delivered the prisoners, but the brigands took to flight, and their retreat could not be discovered. Quesada treated Zumalacarreguy with the utmost attention, and finding that he was wounded, and exhausted with fatigue, sent him to take a short repose at Pampeluna. During his residence in that city he persuaded several officers, of opinions similar to his own, to join the

I supported Charles V's own opinion, that his brother sovereigns would not recognize him till

royalist troops in arms against the constitution, and on the 22nd of August, in company with two other officers, again presented himself to Quesada, who gave him the command of two battalions of his own division. In this post he remained till the general disbanding in 1824.

The Marquis de Laran, viceroy of Pampeluna *ad interim*, having given orders, on the dissolution of the Navarre division, for the formation of a battalion, to be styled provisional, into which all volunteers might be incorporated who should express a desire to remain in the service, Zumalacarreguy was appointed to organize and command it. In September and October 1824, he rejoined the army with this second regiment of light infantry, composed of the volunteers of Aragon. The chiefs having been nominated by the King, Zumalacarreguy, who was not of the number, was sent back to Pampeluna with unlimited leave of absence; there he received the royal brevet of lieutenant-colonel in active service, with the rank of colonel, taking precedence of date from the 22nd of August 1822, the day on which he had joined the army of Navarre.

The Marquis of Laran appointed him a member of the military commission of Pampeluna; and at the end of 1825, the King sent him the brevet of lieutenant-colonel of the first or King's regiment of volunteers, then in garrison at Nuesca; which regiment having no colonel, he performed the duties of that office during fourteen months. From that post he passed to the command of the prince's regiment, the 3rd of the line, with the same rank and functions; in April or May 1829, he was promoted to the rank of colonel in

he had returned to Spain. His Majesty then condescended to inform me that he had, since his ar-

active service of the 3rd light volunteers of Girona, which he commanded till June 1831, and was then removed to the command of the regiment of Estramadura, the 14th of the line. On the 20th of October 1832, Llauder, inspector of infantry, had him arrested, on the charge of being an enemy to the government which King Ferdinand had confided during his illness to his Queen Christina. Offended at this accusation, from which he had no difficulty in exculpating himself, he demanded to be sent, on unlimited leave of absence, to Pampeluna, where his family resided. Three times was this demand reiterated, and it was only on the fourth application that it was granted.

He arrived at Pampeluna about the middle of August 1833. Ferdinand died on the 29th of September, when Zumalacarreguy quitted his family, and by the 30th of October was in the midst of the royalists. On receiving this news, Valdez arrested his wife and daughters on the 24th of January 1834, and shut them up in the convent of Franciscan nuns, where they remained till the 27th of February, when Quesada restored them to liberty, and furnished them with passports for Elisondo and Ordas, where they arrived with much difficulty, owing to the incessant pursuit of Christina's troops. At length, on the 8th of August, Madame Zumalacarreguy having entered the French territory, to see her children transferred to Anoa, that they might be sheltered from the well known cruelty of Rodil, was arrested and conducted under an escort to Bayonne.

An infant daughter, fourteen months old, whom Zumalacarreguy

rival at Chamousca, renewed his solicitation, but in vain, to his nephew, Don Miguel, for the troops which had been promised him, but that without that assistance, it would be impossible for him to enter Spain by land, not having a thousand Spaniards about him. Scarcely did the whole of his little army amount to that number, including the officers of various corps who had joined him, and the greater part were destitute of arms and horses.

" In this case," said I, " we must think of embarking with all possible expedition, for if your Majesty delays any longer, you will infallibly fall, with your whole family, into the hands of Rodil, who is not six leagues distant."

The Queen, who was present, rebutted this proposal with dignity.

" Never," exclaimed she, " will I confide in the English, who alone can furnish us with vessels for leaving Portugal, and who would only consent to

had put out to nurse at Villava, half a league distant from Pampeluna, was carried off and brought into that city, with her nurse, on the 18th of July, and placed by Rodil in the Foundling Hospital, where they remained seven months, till Mina, on his arrival, restored the child to its mother.

provide them on conditions which the King could not accept."

The King entertained the same prejudices. In vain I represented that if England entered into such an engagement, all Europe would be its guarantees; I could not overcome their scruples. The royal family, besides, deceived themselves respecting their actual situation, which inspired me with the greatest uneasiness; the Bishop of Leon also saw their danger, especially since Don Miguel's last disasters.

The troops of Don Pedro and of Rodil were already in the environs of Chamousca; so that no time was to be lost. Again I sought the King, and entreated him to consider the critical situation in which himself and all his family were placed; and in order to determine him, I undertook to obtain from the English admiral as many vessels as would be required to transport his whole suite to England; with the power, when he should arrive in that country, to proceed wherever he should think fit; finally I added, that in persisting to urge him to this resolution, I engaged myself to conduct him afterwards through France into his faithful provinces of Spain, and submitted to him the plan I had marked out, which is precisely the same that his Majesty has since so successfully followed.

The last consideration determined the King's consent, and he immediately gave me a letter for the English admiral; with whom he commissioned me to treat for his departure.

I attached the greatest importance to the secrecy of this mission, for if Rodil had been cognizant of it, he would have impeded it by so many obstacles as to have rendered it impracticable; he would not have failed to manœuvre about Chamousca in such a manner as to surround the royal family, and deprive them of all chance of safety.

To reach the flagship, it was necessary to cross the Tagus, where several of Don Pedro's men of war were assembled. The first night I slept at Villa Franca, in the same house with Don Pedro's adjutant-general, who rejoined him the following day, two hours after my departure. I sailed down the Tagus to the admiral's ship, which was stationed almost at the entrance of the port, being thus compelled to pass the whole squadron of Don Pedro, who no doubt took me for an Englishman.

Previous to delivering the King's letter to admiral Parker, I obtained his word of honour that he would keep the communication secret, and that even his government should not be informed of my

mission, unless he considered himself authorized to treat with me; and that if he did so, the negociation should be made known only to the English ministry. I attached the utmost importance to the secrecy of this step, not having yet quite abandoned the hope that Don Miguel might at length be induced to accompany his uncle into Spain.

The admiral having read the King's letter, answered that he could decide nothing without consulting the English ambassador, of whom he went in search, and in a short time returned with him. We were shut up together for several hours; the first subject opened was, the quadruple alliance which had just been ratified; to which I replied, that I was not there to discuss the articles of that treaty, which exceeded the extent of my powers, and that my mission was limited to requesting vessels for transporting the royal family to England, unfettered by any conditions.

After many objections, the admiral and ambassador consented to grant me the desired vessels, but refused *a written* answer to the King's letter; I complained of this refusal, regarding it as an insult to the King of Spain's dignity, observing to them, that for the letter of a sovereign to remain unanswered, was altogether unprecedented; ad-

ding, that I did not doubt the faithful observance of their engagements, but that a verbal answer would neither satisfy the dignity of Charles V, nor assure him of his safety; and that in short, if they persisted in their refusal to write, I required the restoration of the King's letter, and begged of them to consider my mission as a circumstance that had never occurred. After some reflection, they yielded to my request, and desired I should myself sketch the form of the letter that I required; upon which, I submitted to them the sketch of an answer, which they examined with great attention, and at last informed me, they would write it in the manner I had pointed out. The ambassador very obligingly offered me a passport *under an English name, and in the quality of a person attached to his embassy*, and I gratefully accepted the kind offer, which he fulfilled the next morning. During the twelve hours that I remained on board, I experienced the most delicate attention both from him and from Admiral Parker.

I took advantage of my stay in the admiral's ship, to write to the Marquis de Valdespina, enclosing him a letter from the Bishop of Leon, desiring that in case of the King's finding himself under the necessity of embarking, his adherents so far

from attributing such a determination to a renunciation of his rights, should be assured that it arose solely from the desire of drawing nearer to them. I requested him at the same time to spread the intelligence that the King would soon be found in the midst of his faithful subjects; and despatched these letters, with other papers, of equal importance, under the admiral's cover, who had no suspicion of their contents, and was even obliging enough to address them to his wife, with an express recommendation to forward them, with as little delay as possible, to the person in London to whom I had directed them.

The admiral had just delivered to me his letter for the King, when we received the official news of the treason of General Urbano, who had surrendered to the enemy the finest regiment of Don Miguel's cavalry, five squadrons strong, and admirably mounted (the regiment of Chaves); and of the entry of the Pedroites into Santarem, on the morning of the 17th. These tidings threw me into despair.

It had been agreed with the King, that I should wait on board the flagship, for the departure of the first packet by which I should repair to England, where his affairs required my presence, and that I should send the admiral's answer to

him by express; but the new dangers to which the royal family were exposed, induced me to give up my voyage, lest a letter of such importance should fall into the hands either of Don Pedro or of Rodil. On the same horse, and in the course of the same day, I travelled near thirty leagues, and rejoined the King at Evora, after passing the Pedroite columns.

The defeat of General Guedez by the Duke of Terceira, at Asseiceira, a village only a few leagues from Chamousca, and the movement of Rodil, who in conformity with the regent's orders, wished at all hazards to seize the person of Charles V, his family and his little army, compelled the King to take refuge under the walls of Santarem. He stopped first at Almerim, a village about half a league distant from that city, and during the two days that he remained there, had frequent interviews with his nephew, in which he endeavoured to rally Don Miguel's courage, overwhelmed by so many unexpected reverses and afflicting treasons. Don Carlos endeavoured especially to persuade him not to abandon Santarem, which its situation and fortifications rendered impregnable. But that prince, directed by perfidious counsellors, who deceived him as to his true interests, dared not take

an energetic resolution. He might, leaving strong garrisons in Santarem and Elvas, have shut himself up in the latter place, and given to Charles V the remainder of his troops, which would have sufficed to escort him in triumph to Seville, which was only about forty leagues from the province they were in. The whole population of Andalusia would have hastened to proclaim Charles V, and to conduct him to Madrid. Rodil would not have been able to overtake the King, but would have experienced the fortune he afterwards met with in Navarre, where he was continually beaten by inferior forces.

Timid councils prevailed with Don Miguel. The evacuation of Santarem was decided on, and effected in the night between the 16th and 17th, and the troops directed upon Evora. Don Carlos and his family repaired to that town, where I arrived some days after them.

The King learnt with extreme satisfaction the result of my mission. The admiral wrote, "that "he was happy in the opportunity of gratifying "him, and that he placed at his disposal from that "moment any vessels of his squadron, which he "might have occasion for, to transport him to

" England, or any other country he should choose, " provided always that it should not be to any of the " ports of Spain." He commissioned me, at the same time, to offer English troops to his Majesty, to protect his advance to any port he might indicate for his embarkation. The King deferred his departure till the arrival of his nephew, in the hope that the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, would at length determine him to adopt the plan his Majesty had proposed. Don Miguel entered Evora with the last battalion of his army. It must be said to the honour of this prince, whose bravery never forsook him, that he constantly brought up the rear guard of his army, and was the last to quit Santarem. I came up with him in the town of Coruche, at one o'clock in the morning, entered the house he occupied, to enquire where Charles V, and the royal family had retired, and penetrating to his bed-chamber, found him soundly asleep, though his enemy was only half a league distant.

The inhabitants of Evora received Don Miguel with the greatest enthusiasm; his misfortunes appeared to have increased their attachment to his person. The day succeeding his arrival, he held a

review, at which more than twelve thousand infantry, five squadrons of cavalry,* and thirty pieces of artillery were assembled. General Cabreira was then in the Algarves at the head of five thousand men, and had received orders to draw towards Evora. Thus the army of Don Miguel was still composed of more than fifteen thousand men, without including the garrison of Elvas, which had been strengthened by those of Abrantes and Estremos. He might then have disposed of twelve thousand infantry, four squadrons of cavalry and three field batteries in favour of his uncle, and shut himself up with the remainder of his troops in Elvas, a well-fortified place, situated three leagues from Badajoz. He might easily have awaited there the Spanish forces which Charles V would have sent him after his entry into Madrid. Numerous guerillas had organised themselves all over the kingdom, and would have afforded sufficient occupation to the Pedroite generals, to prevent their sending succours to the Queen of Spain.

Such were the proposals made by Charles V to

* The rest of the cavalry had perished at the affair of Asseiceira. Previous to that action and to General Urbano's treason, Don Miguel's cavalry numbered more than fourteen thousand men.

his nephew; the Queen and the Princess of Beira joined their entreaties to the King's, to obtain their brother's acquiescence in a plan which might yet have saved him. The prince was irresolute, and timid or perfidious counsellors used the influence they had acquired over his mind to induce him to forego the project. They persuaded him that Charles V had no partizans in Spain; and that besides the army of Rodil, the frontier was covered with numerous corps of Christinos, who would soon have annihilated the Portuguese army destined to protect him; that that army was moreover commanded by officers little disposed to follow him into Spain; the unfortunate prince was at length persuaded that no other resource remained to him than to solicit an armistice. Don Miguel communicated this fatal resolution to his uncle, and begged that he would authorise me to go and negociate with the English ambassador the conditions of the armistice.

King Charles V ordered the Bishop Leon to represent to his nephew, that he could not charge a colonel in his service, and an officer of his secretary of state with such a mission, without producing the impression that he approved Don Miguel's resolution to treat with his enemies. "*But Sire,*" said the venerable Bishop of Leon to this prince

" *your Majesty may yet recover your crown; only come with us and seek it at Madrid, it will be found there.*" Don Miguel with much emotion replied: " *I would eagerly embrace such a resolution, were I not unhappily convinced that no one would follow me.*"

This fatal delusion caused his ruin.

Brigadier Guedez was sent to the head-quarters of the Duke of Terceira, who would only grant an armistice of forty eight hours.

The secretary of the English embassy, Mr. Grant, arrived two days afterwards, and the result of his conferring for some hours with the counsellors of Don Miguel, was an arrangement that that prince should resign himself to receive the law from an unnatural brother, who had come to Portugal to deprive him of his dominions, with the aid of a horde of revolutionists from all countries.

General Lemos, as commander-in-chief of the Miguelite army, was commissioned to settle the conditions of the capitulation, and for that purpose repaired to the head-quarters of the Duke of Terceira. The negociator conceded every thing, even suffered his master to be denied the title of Infant in the treaty of capitulation! Don Miguel, with tears in his eyes and rage in his heart, ratified

this degrading treaty, reserving, however, the privilege of hereafter protesting against such an abuse of power against right.*

The fatal signature was affixed on the morning of the 28th. When the news got abroad amongst the troops, no one would credit it, but all were too soon convinced of the melancholy certainty, by the publication of the manifesto in which Don Miguel took leave of his brave and faithful army.†

Despondency then took possession of every mind, grief was painted on every countenance, a unanimous cry of rage and indignation was raised against the King's perfidious counsellors. A great number of officers and soldiers came to offer their services to Charles V, and prepared to join General Moreno, who had set out the day before to assume the command of the Spanish troops, which were within three leagues of Evora; but an order was issued for a countersign to the troops at all the gates, and for disarming any soldier who should attempt to force them.

All the French officers who were serving in

* See the documents appended, date 26th of May, 1834.

† See the documents.

Portugal tendered their swords to Charles V, and his Majesty, who had enjoyed opportunities of appreciating their valour, and the services which they had all rendered to his cause in Portugal, promised to rally them round him as soon as he should be restored to his dominions.

Those noble defenders of all legitimacies distinguished themselves in that campaign by an illustrious devotion and unparalleled bravery in every combat, always appearing in the foremost ranks; and the names of La Rochejacquelein, Bourmont, Almer, Feriet, Puiseux, Rocheline, Dubreuil, Bordigné, Tannegui-Duchatel, Grival, La Houssaye, Clacy, Brassaget, Kerveno,* Grenier, Monnier, Kersabiec, Saint-Pardoux, Rubichon, Diot, Cathelineau, Dion, Orgoni, Delahaye, Argy, Bournonville, with a crowd of others equally

* Kerveno, known in France under the name of the Baron of Chillon, was afterwards basely assassinated at Corogna by order of Maria Christina, who caused the sentence of death pronounced against him in France, for nobly fighting by the side of the Duchess de Berri, sister of that Queen, to be executed in Spain. His death was noble and courageous, and excited the compassion of all the inhabitants, and even that of Morillo, who in this act of submission to the barbarous decree of his government, gave Kerveno a proof of his esteem by offering him his arm to the place of execution.

illustrious, who found a glorious death on the field of battle, or watered the soil of Portugal with their blood, are worthy of being preserved among the glories of monarchical France.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure of Charles V from Portugal.

THE resolution adopted by Don Miguel of abandoning his country, placed Charles V in the most embarrassing situation. He could not effect an entrance into Spain with the few troops at his disposal. Some indeed, of his generals advised him to make an attempt on the Andalusian frontier, by way of Serpa; but to follow such an advice would have been madness, since the prince must have placed himself between two fires; Rodil with his ten thousand men would have hastened to follow his movements, and upon the frontier he would have encountered three thousand men who would have obstructed his further progress.

I considered it my duty respectfully to represent to the King, that such an expedition would be yet

more rash than that of Almeida, and would be attended with more melancholy consequences. "Besides," I added, "your Majesty must reflect that your whole family are with you, and would be exposed by such resolution to certain peril. What a misfortune would it be for Spain if any outrage should be committed against your Majesty's person, or if yourself and your children should fall into the hands of your enemies! There would be less danger for your Majesty in attempting, with two officers only, to reach your faithful provinces of the North; and again in such a case, what would your Majesty do with your family? You have no resource, Sire, but to embark in the vessels which the English admiral places at your disposal." The King apprehended that the Pedroite generals would oppose his embarkation; on that subject I encouraged him, by pointing out that Don Pedro's generals would be very cautious in throwing the smallest obstacle in the way of an arrangement made, in the name of the King of England, by an English admiral and ambassador.

The Bishop of Leon was of my opinion, and united his efforts to mine to determine his Majesty to embark; but that which chiefly influenced the King's

resolution was the engagement, which I reiterated on my honour, to conduct him to Navarre, immediately on our arrival in England.

Charles V having determined on quitting Portugal, now gave his whole attention to his companions in misfortune. My advice was that he should divide the seven hundred soldiers into small detachments, which under the guidance of Andalusian officers, should throw themselves into the mountains of Andalusia and there wage a guerilla war ; that all the other officers should embark at the same time with the King, the admiral having promised me to place at his Majesty's disposal as many vessels as might be necessary to transport them. Other advice prevailed, and it was determined to leave the soldiers in a depôt under the protection of the English government, till they could obtain passports for the destination which they should choose.

For this purpose, the Bishop of Leon went to concert measures with Mr. Grant, secretary to the English embassy; that worthy minister of Charles V, who was acquainted with the heart and noble sentiments of his master, well knew that he would have preferred to bury himself under the ruins of Portuguese legitimacy, rather than sign an act

derogatory to his kingly duties, and that no consideration upon earth would have induced him to make the smallest concession to the interests of Christina or the pretensions of Isabella. He had indeed no such requisition to apprehend from the English government, since he had already received a written assurance that he might embark unconditionly; the Bishop of Leon, accordingly, in his conference with Mr. Grant, had only to show him Admiral Parker's letter to the King. Mr. Grant on glancing over its contents admitted that the engagements it contracted were too sacred to be infringed, and the conference from thenceforward related only to the measures to be adopted by the Pedroite officers for protecting the journey of the Spanish royal family to Aldea Gallega, the port assigned by the admiral for the King's embarkation.*

The Bishop of Leon also claimed the protection of the British government for the seven hundred soldiers whom the King found himself under the necessity of leaving in Portugal. Mr. Grant entered

* Aldea Gallega is a small port situated on the left bank of the Tagus, three leagues from Lisbon, on the road to Madrid, in the province of Portuguese Estramadura.

into the engagement in the name of his government; then repaired to the Duke of Terceira's head quarters, and the same day despatched by a courier, signed and ratified, the convention concluded between him and the Pedroite marshals.*

The departure was fixed for the 30th of May, on which day, Don Miguel was also to embark at Sines for Genoa.

At this juncture, the King received a letter from Zumalacarreguy, who supplicated Don Carlos, in the name of all his faithful subjects, to use his utmost efforts to come and place himself at their head; intimating his fears, that the King's absence, if longer protracted, would spread discouragement throughout the whole population of Navarre. The King's answer to his general intimated that the unhappy turn of affairs in Portugal had constrained him to embark for England, but that he had submitted to no condition, and that once in that country, he would be at liberty to direct his course wherever he chose; adding a promise that in less than six weeks he would be amongst his brave Navarrese. † It will be seen in the sequel that he kept his word with them.

* See the documents in the appendix.

† See the documents in the appendix.

The King's letter was conveyed to Zumalacarreguy by the same man who had, a short time previously, so well acquitted himself of the mission the general had confided to him.

The Queen, anxious whilst affording the faithful emissary a testimony of her personal satisfaction, to furnish him with the most speedy means of reaching Zumalacarreguy, presented him with a mule which had borne her in all her wanderings in Portugal. The animal was singularly beautiful, and capable of travelling twenty leagues a day; the faithful courier accordingly arrived, in a short time, at Zumalacarreguy's quarters.

His return to Navarre was a great event; the people thronged round a man who had been fortunate enough to see the King, the Queen, and the royal family; he was overwhelmed with questions, and surrounded by tokens of homage; the bells rang along his road, and the news everywhere spreading of the arrival of an agent from the King, diffused joy through the whole province of Navarre; it was the first direct news of Charles V which his loyal and devoted subjects had received. The Queen's mule had her share in the general joy; the soldiers promenaded her, covered with flowers, through all their cantonments.

I set out post the 29th of the same month, to make preparations for the King's departure. On my arrival at Aldea Gallega, I encountered, by a singular coincidence, Colonel Texeira, Rodil's aide-de-camp, accompanied by a cabinet courier. We all three made the passage from Aldea Gallega to Lisbon in the same boat, they supposing me to be an attaché of the English embassy. The next day I met the same colonel at the house of the English ambassador, who acquainted me with the object of his mission, which was no other than to claim, in the name of the Spanish government, the surrender of Don Carlos, his family, and his troops ; but the demand came too late, and though powerfully seconded by Don Pedro, it was refused.

He afterwards informed me that Mr. Grant had sent him a list, made by order of the King, containing the names of fifty persons who were to embark with the royal family. I was astonished at such a reduction in the number of officers who were to attend them, having myself obtained a promise, that all who were seriously compromised, by their attachment to Charles V, should accompany him ; and the English admiral had, as I have already said, engaged to furnish the ships necessary

to transport them. The person who had undertaken the charge of these subsequent arrangements, was more scrupulous in his demands than I had been, and the effect of this weakness was, that a great number of officers were obliged to remain at Aldea Gallega, till two vessels could be hired to transport them to Hamburg; they were exposed at the former place, to the insults of the meanest of the populace, and several of them even received serious wounds. I shall return hereafter to this deplorable occurrence.

The mutual adieux of the royal family of Spain and of Don Miguel, amidst the great and exalted misfortunes that were accumulated on those two crowned heads, were heart-rending!

The separation took place at three in the morning, of the 30th; Don Miguel proceeded to embark at Sines, and the King, accompanied by his family, ascended a carriage escorted by a squadron of Miguelite lancers, and followed by all the Spanish officers who had bivouacked the day before in the square of Evora, where his residence was situated, to wait for the hour of the King's departure. Some followed on foot, others on horseback, none of his faithful subjects choosing to abandon their King, while surrounded by enemies.

At Montemor, the King's escort was changed, and replaced by Pedroite troops who accompanied him to Aldea Gallega, where he was still followed by his brave companions in misfortune. The English Colonel Wilde was charged by the ambassador to afford him aid and protection in case of need, and that gallant officer acquitted himself of his mission with honour and loyalty; he treated the royal family with the utmost respect, and protected the officers of the suite, who, but for him, would have been massacred after the King's departure.

When the royal family reached Aldea Gallega, no one came to meet and receive them on the part of Don Pedro, no lodging had been provided for them; and they were obliged to engage one in an almost unfurnished house. Very different was this reception from that which the august family had experienced fourteen months before; but, in that interval, strange events had happened, great catastrophes had befallen the two sovereigns.

At ten in the morning of the 1st of June, the King admitted all the companions of his reverses to kiss his hand, and took leave of them, addressing them in these affecting words:

"My gallant friends, it is very painful to me to

be separated from you; I leave you under the protection of the English government, which has pledged itself to me to defend you from the insults of the populace. You will embark before the end of the week in the vessels I have hired, that you may rejoin me; I am convinced that providence will not abandon you, and that we shall one day have the happiness of again seeing together our dear and beautiful country."

The King pronounced these few words in a voice faltering with painful emotion; his countenance was impressed with noble sadness; his eyes, moistened with tears, wandered over his brave officers assembled around him, who had only power to throw themselves at his feet and to kiss his hand. In silence they accompanied the august victims of misfortune to the bridge, where they bid a second adieu to the monarch, who, for the moment, yielded to the empire of necessity, only to preserve his right of claiming, at the hands of futurity, a new and happier destiny.

CHAPTER IX.

The King's embarkation, and arrival in England.

On the 1st of June, at eleven in the morning, Charles V, with his family and suite, embarked in twelve boats, two of which belonged to the French frigate La Cybèle. Charles was in the first, with the Queen, the Princess of Beira and Mr. Grant; the young princes and the royal suite, composed of sixty persons, occupied the others. A salvo of twenty-one guns announced their arrival alongside the Donegal, a seventy-four, on board of which the King and his family were to embark. Captain Fanshawe descended to the water's edge to receive their Majesties, to whom all the honours due to the blood royal were rendered.

Captain Le Mercier, commander of the French frigate, La Cybèle, who doubtless, in such circum-

stances, acted according to the orders of his own government, went on board the Donegal, to be amongst the first to present his respectful homage to the King and royal family. The admiral, surrounded by his officers, was also on board to receive Charles V, and apologise for not having had time to prepare the Donegal in a manner more worthy of his presence.

The Pedroites, furious at these testimonies of respect offered to a Spanish Bourbon on board an English man of war, fired no salute either from their batteries or their forts. The Regent, who had paid no attention whatever to his sisters on their arrival at Aldea Gallega, deigned not to visit them on board, although he had not seen them for twelve years. An undutiful son, and an unkind brother, Don Pedro had the art of disguising his avarice and ambition, under the semblance of a paternal tenderness, in which policy had more concern than the heart*.

* The Infanta Donna Anna, Marchioness de Loulé, was the only member of Don Pedro's family who paid a visit to his sisters and uncle. She went twice on board to see her august relations, and dined, as well as her two children, with the royal family. The King's suite was introduced to her, and admitted to the honour of kissing her hand

He begged the English admiral would not suffer the royal family to remain in port, but oblige them to make sail as soon as possible. Admiral Parker, however, paid no attention to so unbecoming a request, and allowed the royal family two days to procure the necessary apparel, of which they had been destitute ever since the seizure of their baggage by Rodil's soldiers.

We sailed on the 3rd at noon; at the moment of clearing the Tagus, we met the Stag, Captain Lockyer, a forty-six gun frigate, having on board Don Miguel and sixty-six persons of his suite, on their passage to Genoa. They had embarked at Sines, but the Stag being in want of provisions, was to remain in the Bay of Cascaes till Admiral Parker had supplied her.

The royal family were excessively incommoded by sea sickness in the early part of the voyage, but captain and officers vied with each other in their care and attention towards them, and treated the suite with similar consideration.

They loudly expressed their indignation at the unmilitary conduct of Rodil, whose exploits were limited to carrying off, at the head of ten thousand men, the baggage of the illustrious victims of proscription, defended by fourteen unarmed domestics.

This glorious expedition, however, purchased for Rodil a seat in the Upper Chamber, and the ribbons of several orders. The English officers did not scruple boldly to affirm that, without foreign assistance, Don Pedro could never have succeeded. They had had opportunities of perceiving by ocular demonstration, that the sympathies of the immense majority of the Portuguese nation were in favour of Don Miguel. Such an avowal on the part of officers who had resided several years in Portugal, and had had time to become acquainted with the spirit of the people, ought to have some weight. Admiral Parker is of the same opinion.

'The band played daily whilst the King was at dinner, always commencing with "God save the King." In the evening their Majesties were entertained with a concert in their own saloon by the officers. We had a delightful passage, and, on the 12th, were at Spithead; but the order for the disembarkation of the royal family had not yet arrived.

Charles V demanded permission for my landing, that I might proceed to London on his Majesty's affairs. I immediately set out, and returned to Portsmouth the next day almost at the same moment as Mr. John Backhouse, under secretary of state for foreign affairs, who was accompanied by

the Marquis of Florida Blanca, ambassador from the usurping government of Spain.

Mr. Backhouse asked to see me, and said that the character he had heard of me from the English minister plenipotentiary at Lisbon, had inspired him with a strong desire to become acquainted with me. We went together on board the Donegal; he was commissioned to compliment the King in the name of his government, and to deliver to him a letter from Lord Palmerston. I proceeded to introduce him to the King, and to translate the despatch, in which the minister apologised, in the first place, for orders not having been earlier transmitted for the landing of the royal family, attributing the delay to the tedious passage of the vessel despatched with the tidings of his Majesty's expected arrival. He assured his Majesty, that Mr. Backhouse possessed his entire confidence, and that any propositions he should make might be considered as emanating from the secretary himself. The King hastened to admit Mr. Backhouse to his presence, and received him with his customary affability. The singular proposition made by this minister, was no other than that Charles V should renounce his claim to the Spanish crown, offering him, in case of his consent to such renun-

ciation, a considerable sum of money, and a handsome pension, to be paid by the Spanish, and guaranteed by the English government.

The King replied with much dignity : " that his right to the crown of Spain was inherent in his person, and that he could not renounce it without failing in his obligations towards his people, and his duty towards God, from whom he had received them ; that, moreover, neither as a father, nor as a King, could he attempt to impair the rights of his sons, or of the other princes interested in his maintenance of them ; that, in short, he would in no degree derogate from what he owed to his birth and his country ; and that, whatever might be his personal interest, he would never desert the cause of his faithful subjects."

On leaving the King, Mr. Backhouse entered the captain's cabin, to commit the royal answer to writing, and retired full of admiration for the noble character of Don Carlos. The spirit of party sought to insinuate that these dignified expressions had been dictated to the King ; a Tory journal even asserted that a Portuguese diplomatist attached to the suite of the Princess of Beira had drawn up the answer. I can however testify that he was not even consulted, and knew nothing of the mat-

ter except through the journals ; and moreover if he had been consulted, I doubt his approving the sentiment, and am warranted in my opinion by the counsel he gave Don Miguel, when his acquiescence in the proposals of his enemies was under discussion. If that journal had looked for its information from persons who had lived in intimacy with the King, it would have learned that never did the prince display, in any circumstance of his life, in prosperity as in adversity, a more noble and exalted character, or one more becoming his birth ; Charles V was at all times worthy of admiration, by that affecting resignation which can spring only from a pure conscience and a deep conviction of having well performed our duty. If, however, the prince had stood in need of honourable and generous inspirations, he would have had no difficulty in finding them All Europe was acquainted with the firm and noble character of the Queen, whose soul and sentiments were so eminently royal ; and of the Princess of Beira, who unites to the advantage of a strongly organized mind, a heart endowed with all the energy of devotion. The Bishop of Leon, so well known for his elevation of mind, the fervour of his religious virtues, and the probity of his political opinions, has always exhibited a rec-

titude of conduct, and a nobleness of sentiment, which have never wavered, either at court or in exile; he has chosen the wooden rather than the golden cross, by remaining faithful to the cause of religion, inseparable in Spain from that of Charles V; and he would never have tendered to his sovereign other counsels than such as were worthy of him.

The Count of Florida Blanca desired that his respects might be offered to the King, and requested to be presented to him. The King returned for answer, that if he was willing to be admitted to his presence as a grandee of Spain, he might come on board, and his Majesty would receive him with the greatest pleasure, but that he should certainly not receive him as ambassador from Maria Christina, whom he could only consider as Queen Dowager of Spain. The count, on receiving this answer from the King, hastily withdrew from Portsmouth.

The sea, which for two days swelled heavily, prevented the King's landing before the 18th of June. At six in the morning, of that day, the yacht of the superintendent of the navy sailed to the roadstead, to convey the King and Queen; at seven the marines were ranged in order of battle on

deck, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. The King, before he took leave of the captain and officers of the Donegal, addressed them in the following words:

"Gentlemen,

"I cannot take leave of you without expressing how sincerely I congratulate myself on being favoured with an opportunity of appreciating the merit of English naval officers; they are deserving of the reputation they enjoy throughout Europe. Never can I forget the attention and solicitude you have evinced towards me and my family. Have the goodness to accept my thanks, and to believe that my only cause of regret is the shortness of my stay among you."

The King pronounced these words in a tone of emotion which deeply affected all present, and afterwards requested a list of all the officers of the Donegal.

The royal family descended into the yacht, accompanied by Captain Fanshawe; and after a passage of half an hour landed at the stairs of the Sally port under a second salute of twenty-one guns. A detachment of marines formed a line on each side, and as soon as the royal family had entered their carriage, the band of the same corps

struck up 'God save the King,' the appropriateness of which produced a deep impression on the crowd who witnessed their reception; for early as was the hour, the platform was filled with the most affecting testimonies of respect for the double majesty of misfortune and royalty.

The King, on his arrival at his hotel, thanked the guard of honour already stationed there for their services, and made them a gratuity of forty pounds sterling. His Majesty, having determined on preserving a strict incognito, took the title of Duke of Elisondo.

It was supposed that the Portsmouth authorities would have received orders from the government, to receive the royal family with the honours due to their rank; and we were much surprised that the governor, and the admiral in command of the port, did not send their carriages to convey the royal family, who were conducted to their hotel in hired carriages. It was also remarked that their Majesties, on setting foot upon English ground, were neither received by the lieutenant-governor, nor the admiral.

The Superintendent, Sir F. Maitland, Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, Captains Harcourt, Codrington, and several other officers, came after-

wards to pay their respect to the King and to his family. Admiral Maitland is the same officer who, in 1815, received Napoleon on board the Bellerophon. All the families of any distinction in Portsmouth also solicited the honour of an introduction to the illustrious refugees, and several placed their carriages at their disposal.

Two days after the King's landing, while he was talking to me of his return to Spain, a subject which perpetually occupied his thoughts, the collector of customs was announced, but what was my surprise when instead of that officer, I beheld, entering the King's apartment, the head of the *Alien-Office*, sent to take cognizance of the King and the members of the royal family, a condition exacted by the authorities, previous to granting them a permission of residence in England. I was exasperated at the indecency of such a proceeding, which was an outrage upon the royal dignity. I was of opinion that the King should refuse compliance; but he preferred appearing, to make light of the matter, and giving way, under the protection of his voluntary incognito; he was not, however, the less sensible of the indelicacy of this mean injunction of the Whig ministry, who thought proper to partake, under such circumstances, the fears of

escape experienced by the representatives of Christina's interests.

One of the vessels which the King had hired for transporting the hundred and fifty officers whom he had left at Aldea Gallega, under the protection of the powers who had signed the quadruple alliance, and particularly under that of Admiral Parker, while waiting to embark for Hamburg, arrived at Portsmouth during our stay there. These officers told us that they had been exposed to the greatest dangers during the four days they remained behind. Several of them were massacred by a Pedroite battalion composed of French, Polish and Belgian revolutionists. These wretches sought out their residences, and breaking into them before they had left their beds, wounded eighteen, four of them very severely. The Portuguese soldiers, commanded by two French officers, strenuously resisted the rage of the banditti, but it was with much difficulty they succeeded in repressing it.

Admiral Parker, on being informed of these proceedings, sent a number of boats belonging to his squadron to assist the unfortunate victims; and his intervention proved a powerful succour, enabling the officers to embark immediately, and

place themselves under the protection of the generous English admiral. The wounded received, on board his ship, all the attention required by the wretched and perfectly helpless condition to which the Pedroite freebooters had reduced them.

The ministers of Don Pedro entreated Admiral Parker not to communicate these excesses to his government, but the gallant admiral replied that silence with regard to such crimes would, in a manner, render him an accomplice, and that his conscience imposed it upon him as an imperative duty, not to throw a veil over so scandalous a transaction.

During his residence at Portsmouth, the King received important dispatches from General Zumalacarreguy, in which, after giving him an account of his operations and of the situation of the army, he pressingly urged his Majesty to come over, and himself assume the command of his troops, and animate by his presence the hopes of his subjects. This message irrevocably fixed the King's determination; he ordered me to prepare, without loss of time, for his departure.

CHAPTER X.

Departure from London—Journey through France, from Dieppe to Bayonne.

When Charles V left Evora to proceed to England, in consequence of the disgraceful treaty of the quadruple alliance, he perceived in the cautious protection granted to him by the English government, a means of returning to his dominions, where he was anxiously expected, in the heart of the mountains of Navarre, by a small army of his faithful subjects. This impression, which he never ceased to cherish, could alone induce him to quit Portugal, and remove for a short time from the frontiers of his kingdom. Accordingly, the King no sooner arrived at Portsmouth, than he bent his whole attention towards his return to Spain.

The prince had been pleased to number me amongst the very few of his devoted adherents, to

whom he might confide his lofty projects; and he had selected me to accompany him. During his sojourn at Portsmouth, he commissioned me to make preparations for his departure; in obedience to his orders, I performed several journies to London in furtherance of that object. The most important and arduous arrangement was the procuring of passports: I concerted my measures with Mr. B——, a banker in London, whose zeal for the royal cause, and capacity for business, proved of the utmost advantage to my views.

After having long and carefully considered what species of passports would prove most suitable to us, we determined that the King and the individual who was to accompany him, should represent themselves as colonists from the island of Trinidad, and that passports should be procured for them in that character. We gave a preference to Trinidad, because it had formerly belonged to Spain; the greater part of the inhabitants still spoke the Spanish language, and consequently any Spanish words which might drop from the King, during the journey we were about to undertake, would not create suspicion.

Our passports were delivered to us under the names of Alphonse Saez and Thomas Saubot; the first, a merchant, the second a planter in Trinidad,

and both, Mr. B.'s correspondents. Mr. Thomas Saubot, then in London, gave me his passport containing a description, which, by a singular coincidence, perfectly corresponded with my person; the other was procured by a friend of mine; but they were both ignorant of the use to which I intended to apply them.

Having thus procured the passports, I collected as many pamphlets and newspapers as I could find respecting the island of Trinidad, and carefully inquired the names of the principal inhabitants of the colony, and of the last arrivals in English harbours; in order not to be taken by surprise, in the event of any unforeseen questions being put to me. With the view of averting the suspicious vigilance of M. de Talleyrand, I next sent, for examination, at the embassy, a passport which had been given to me in France, under my real name, six months before; and in order to allow proper notice to be taken of it, I did not call for its return until two days afterwards. This passport was examined for Hamburg, my departure for which town I had openly announced to every person of the household of Charles V, having also adopted that precaution towards all my friends.

I did not fail to tell every one that I was entrusted with a mission of some importance for

the north of Germany; that seemed a probable story, as it was known that two vessels were expected at Hamburg, having two hundred Spanish officers on board, who had been unable to embark with us. It was quite natural that I should proceed to meet them; many persons accordingly confided to me their letters and commissions, in perfect good faith. M. de Talleyrand was completely the dupe of my contrivance; he notified my arrival to his agents in Hamburg, and even did me the honour to dispatch a special emissary for the purpose of keeping watch over my proceedings; on this occasion, the old diplomatic cunning of Louis Philippe's ambassador was at fault, and I had the honour of deceiving M. de Talleyrand.

After having procured, by way of precaution, two further passports, I hastened to announce to the King that all was ready for our departure. This was necessarily to take place on the first days of our landing in England; but my most important task was yet to be performed, and I had still many obstacles to overcome, which were to be encountered about the King's person. Of all those who were in attendance upon him, the Bishop of Leon was the only one who approved of the journey, though he would not take upon himself the responsibility of it. The others ad-

mitted, it is true, the necessity of the return of Charles V to his dominions, but they opposed, by every means in their power, his attempting it by way of France; a sea voyage appeared to them less hazardous, and I had, accordingly, warm debates to sustain respecting the risks and casualties which attended the course I recommended.

The public papers had already given the alarm to Christina's government, by announcing that Don Carlos was immediately expected in one of the Spanish ports; many English officers had been observed to try the soundings on the shores of Guipuscoa and Biscay; English, French, and Spanish cruisers kept vigilant watch along the coast. I was therefore of opinion that a landing was next to impossible, and that supposing it otherwise, there would be danger of drawing down all the enemy's forces in that direction, so that the King had the alternative, on returning to Spain, of either being killed by the Christinos, or of falling into their hands. It was further to be objected that the vessel intended to convey the King, having been purchased to carry arms and ammunition to Don Miguel, was closely watched, that it required a million and a half of francs to arm the vessel—where was this sum to be procured? This argument was peremptory: the King accordingly deter-

mined to abide by my advice; it was fortunate he did so, for the person who was to arm the vessel in which it was proposed he should proceed to Spain, has not yet been able to complete her equipment.

It is often an arduous struggle to have to contend with those who are in close attendance upon monarchs; when occasions of danger arise, all are anxious to prove their attachment by a display of cautious foresight; but they rather stand as obstacles in the way of success.

I had every difficulty in persuading, that a land journey only exposed us to the risk of being arrested by M. Thiers' police, and that the worse which could happen to the King, was his being conveyed beyond the French frontiers, as Louis Philippe could not have the audacity to re-open the dungeon of Blaye for the admission of the King of Spain. I was quite satisfied that I was conquering, in the person of M. de Talleyrand, the evil genius of the *juste milieu* party.

Every resting place had been settled before hand; I had taken note of every house at which we might stop on the road from London to Bayonne; and although no previous intimation had been given to any one, in order not to incur the

danger in which an act of indiscretion might involve us, I was confident of the welcome reception and devotedness we should meet with. The only thing I had provided, was that every one should be at his post on the instant of our arrival; I was thoroughly acquainted with the road, and felt assured that no delay would retard us. Such were the convictions I had to impress upon the minds of those who thought it their duty to raise difficulties to my plan of travelling; I may affirm, however, that every thing has occurred as I had previously anticipated; and I have had nothing to alter in the itinerary I had laid down for his Majesty, previously to our quitting Portugal.

I was anxious that our journey should not be delayed, as it would have been imprudent in us to afford leisure to the police of the quadruple alliance for enclosing the illustrious traveller within their nets. This was a victory of which I may also claim the achievement: the King yielded to my arguments, and named the 1st of July as the day of his departure.

It was agreed that the royal family should remove to London. They left Portsmouth on the 22nd of June, and alighted at Gloucester-lodge, the former residence of Mr. Canning. This delighful house is

at the distance of two miles from Hyde-park, on the road from Piccadilly. Those who are aware of the influence which Mr. Canning's principles exercised over the destinies of Spain, will think it a singular coincidence, that Charles V should have proceeded to the conquest of his dominions, from the very spot which had been inhabited by the English minister, who chiefly contributed to the revolutions which have desolated the Spanish territory.

The King availed himself of the few days he had to spare, and visited whatever was most interesting to a stranger in London. I afterwards supplied him with the instructions to be observed by the persons of his household, at the moment of our departure, as well as during our journey. They were as follows :

His Majesty was to sally forth, on the 1st of July, at six in the evening, the hour at which he took his usual walk, in company with M. Aznares,*

* Mr. Aznares, son of a councillor of state of the same name, is one of those noble minded Spaniards who have given the most honourable proofs of fidelity to Charles V. He sent in his resignation immediately after the death of Ferdinand VII, and was intrusted by Charles V with some important missions, of which he acquitted himself with no less discrimination than zeal for his master's service

formerly attached to the legation at the court of Sardinia, to take a coach at the first stand, which was at the distance of a mile from his residence, and proceed in it to Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square. I was waiting for him at one of the houses in that street, where he was to cut off his mustachios and get his hair dyed. It was to be said at Gloucester-lodge, as soon as night should set in, that the King had returned from his walk with a violent head-ache, which had compelled him to retire to bed. The physician of Don Carlos, who would never have consented to be kept away from him, was to be made acquainted with the secret, as well as the King's valet, an old servant on whose discretion perfect reliance might be placed. The physician, after paying a visit to his patient, would write an order which was to be taken for preparation to an apothecary in the neighbourhood, and in which he was to prescribe mustard baths and sinapisms. The Queen, the Princess of Beira, and the Bishop of Leon, were to pass several hours of each day at the bedside of the august patient; the bishop was even to come on purpose from London, where he resided, in order to be the better enabled to give his attendance to the King; the King's apartment was to be closed against every one else, even the

Infants his children; they were to be told that their august father could not see them owing to the violence of his headache; nevertheless, the secret of the voyage was communicated, two days after our departure, to the Prince of Asturias, who expressed the deepest mortification at not having been allowed to accompany his father. The gentleman of the bed-chamber, himself, the duties of whose office require his remaining at the door of the King's apartment to receive his orders, was for several days unaware of the King's absence.

In the event of the King's departure from London becoming known, two of the gentlemen in attendance upon his Majesty were to start for Lulworth in a post-chaise and four; and it was to be stated in the newspapers, that Don Carlos had gone to visit the late residence of Charles X, with the view of fixing himself there, with his family, at a later period. I placed all these instructions, in writing, in the Queen's hands, and she condescended to express to me her satisfaction at my conduct.

These details may perhaps be deemed trifling; but I had at heart to make known all the precautions employed, and all the means resorted to for the purpose of ensuring the successful journey of

my august master; their minuteness will be forgiven, in consideration of the importance of the subject.

At last, the King came to an understanding with me, at ten in the morning of the 1st of July, respecting the final arrangement to be adopted for our departure. Previously to my taking leave, he allowed me to kiss his hand. "Sire," said I, "this is the last homage I am to pay to your Majesty; this very night we are to exchange parts; it will be your's to obey me until your return to your dominions, when each of us shall resume his station." The King replied with his usual condescension, that he cheerfully consented to the exchange. I then took leave of every person about the court, and left them under the impression that I was proceeding to Hamburg.

I was at our rendez-vous in Welbeck-street at six in the evening, expecting the King half an hour afterwards; he had not arrived at that hour, and I began to feel uneasy. Nevertheless, this delay was very natural; had not the King, previously to his departure, to leave a crown behind him, a father's crown which it costs so many tears and sorrows to surrender? He was about to tear himself away from the embraces of a family he had never left, of a

cherished wife, of his children, whom it was doubtful he should ever again behold! His heart of a father and of a husband must have bled, when fulfilling his painful duties of a sovereign: he took leave of his children; his separation from the Queen was to be for ever!

His Majesty, accompanied by M. Aznares, arrived at half-past seven. I went to receive him, but at sight of the King, I was so much affected that he perceived my emotion, and said to me. "You appear alarmed." "No, Sire." "You are frightened, I tell you," quickly rejoined the King, "you are agitated." "No doubt, I am, Sire, but it is the agitation of enthusiasm. I admire your energy in adopting a resolution which must be attended with such important results." I presented to the King, M. and Madame B—— so well worthy of the confidence he deigned to repose in them.

The first object attended to was that of disguising the King; he began, with remarkable cheerfulness, by cutting away his mustachios, a sacrifice at all times painful to a Castillian. The amiable Madame B—— had taken upon herself the task of dying his hair, for her devoted zeal would not allow her to trust to strange hands so important a secret. She was discharging this function with a timid graceful-

ness, and when laying her hands, for the first time, on the King's head, she said to him with visible emotion. "We must indeed, Sire, be living in times of revolution, that I should thus venture to lay my hand upon a royal head." "Courage, Madame," affably replied the King, and in order to calm her agitation, he good humouredly asked her if one might not likewise procure powder to whiten the hair. "*But the times we live in are such,*" added the King, "*that they would often render it a useless secret.*"

Pending these preparations, I had retired to make our final arrangements. I took care to apprise the landlord of the house I occupied, that having to start by the Hamburg packet at an early hour the next morning, I had determined to sleep on board, in order to be in readiness; this is a very common precaution, and would not raise any doubts; but I adopted it because a Frenchman had called upon me the day before, and offered to accompany me on the voyage; this appeared a suspicious circumstance; and although I went under a feigned name whilst in that house, I felt apprehensive that this person might have been a spy in the service of M. de Talleyrand.

On returning to the King, I found him with the Bishop of Leon, M. Aznares, and the bishop's secretary. The latter had just arrived from Gloucester-lodge, where we had sent him in search of the royal seal, which the King had forgotten to bring away. The bishop's secretary informed us that sinapisms were preparing for the patient; this piece of news greatly amused the King, who was cheerfully preparing to step into a carriage, in the full enjoyment of health.

I learnt that, during my absence, the Bishop of Leon, beset with those advisers who opposed the King's determination, and who exaggerated to him the dangers which his Majesty was about to encounter in his adventurous journey, was for a moment in doubt of its success; he felt it his duty to make a last attempt, in order to ascertain whether the King's intention was irrevocably fixed, and had beseeched him to postpone his departure.

"No!" replied the King, "I feel something here (pointing to his heart) which tells me that the undertaking will be prosperous; and in order that God may protect it," added his Majesty; "I request your blessing."

The King then bent his knee to the ground, and

the worthy bishop implored the blessing of heaven upon his royal head.

The time of parting had arrived. The King's farewell to the Bishop of Leon, and to the persons who were about him, was most affecting. The clock struck twelve as we stepped into the carriage; we were in Brighton at half-past seven in the morning, and on our passage to Dieppe an hour afterwards.

We performed the voyage in twelve hours, as is usual on the passage from Brighton to Dieppe during the summer season; but there was a heavy swell, and the King was not for a moment free from sea sickness; nevertheless, the idea of returning to his kingdom often overcame his sickness, and the recollection of his country and of his subjects absorbed all his thoughts.

I pointed out to the King, towards four o'clock, the coast of France, that beautiful country, the cradle of his ancestors, the hereditary land of his family, which he had only known by a captivity of six years under the imperial bolts of Valencay. Previously to landing, I took care to prepare his Majesty for all the formalities he would have to submit to; I wished to guard him against the surprise which he might express, and thus incur the risk of

our being discovered; the precautions resorted to by the custom-house officers are not softened by courtesy; and if they offend private individuals, they are far more likely to prove offensive to those sovereigns who are compelled, by circumstances, to submit to them. I prevailed upon Charles V to abstain from every remark, and to leave me the task of answering every question that might be put to us.

We entered the harbour at eight o'clock at night, and were conducted, on landing, to the office of the custom-house, to submit ourselves to inspection, and to deposit our passports.

After having undergone the usual examination, we took up our abode at the Royal Hotel kept by Mr. Clarke; notwithstanding all my solicitations and arguments, I found it impossible to procure from the custom-house officers the immediate delivery of our luggage and passports, so as to enable us to set off the same evening; in spite of us, we had to tarry that night at Dieppe.

Intimation was given to us the next morning, that we were expected at the police office for the restitution of our passports. In vain did I represent that, at Calais, they are less rigid in their formalities, and that for a gratification of two francs

the passports of travellers are examined, without their having to present themselves before the police; we were forced to give way—though not without my exclaiming against that ridiculous injunction, against which, however, as stated by the commissioner of our hotel, all foreigners passing through Dieppe had long been urgent in their complaints.

In spite of my vexation, we had to repair to the police office, where we received our passports to proceed on our way to the baths of Bagnières. The office was crowded with foreigners, who, like us, were awaiting the examination of their passports; but I had received a promise from the commissary that we should be the first attended to; the King, however, admonished me on leaving the office, that I was wrong in insisting so much upon obtaining our passports before every one else, as this earnestness might awaken suspicion.

"Quite the contrary, Sire," I replied, "it is the best way to avert it; the man who holds up his head and makes a noise is never suspected; suspicion falls on the timid man who endeavours to elude observation."

On returning to the hotel, we gave orders for our departure; Mr. Clarke had procured us the hire

of a calèche; I had ordered post-horses before hand, and when breakfast was over, we stepped into the carriage. It was half-past eight o'clock when we left Dieppe. The King made enquiries respecting the castle of Arques, so celebrated by the battle in which Henry IV defeated the Duke of Mayenne; I pointed to the left of the road the hills which concealed it from our view; the King said with a smile:

"*I am treading in the footsteps of my ancestor; I am on my way to the conquest of my kingdom.*"

On reaching the ascent of Montigny, at about three leagues from Dieppe, I said to the King: "This is the magnificent domain of Viscount d'Ambray, one of the most faithful adherents of the august French branch of your house. The newspapers of all opinions have paid homage to the lofty character he displayed at the period of the revolution of July, when he energetically refused, in these words, the application of the chamber of peers that he should vote for the King sprung from the barricades: "*My first oath forbids my taking another.*" This remarkable language was applauded by every one, and conciliated all parties to him, so true it is, that a man of honour can only serve under one banner; the Viscount d'Ambray

is one of those men who may be introduced alike to friend or foe. These circumstances made an impression upon the King, who regretted much that the distance of the Viscount d'Ambray's residence from the road should have prevented his calling to pay him a visit. Who in fact could have better appreciated his Majesty?

As we passed through the Pays de Caux, the King was much amused at seeing the cotton caps usually worn by the women. He made, throughout the journey, repeated remarks on the French cheerfulness of temper, which he greatly preferred to the phlegmatic habits of the English; he was delighted with the bustle and animation of the French. The very nature of our soil, so different from the dark, and if I may so express it, the foggy soil of England, appeared to gladden his heart; our more cheerful and warmer sun gave him a foretaste of his beautiful native land, which he was on his way to revisit.

The King questioned me, along the road, respecting the various places we passed through, and which always suggested some recollection to his mind; that of the Duchess of Berri naturally occurred on the way from Dieppe, where she had performed so many good works; the King did homage

to the noble boldness of his relative, and contrasted the very different conduct of two sisters,—the one sacrificing every sentiment to promote her daughter's usurpation, whilst the other had entered France to stake her life and liberty, in defence of the cause of legitimacy, in the person of her son.

We travelled at a rapid rate, and were fortunate enough not to meet with any accident; we performed the journey from Dieppe to Paris in seventeen hours, and alighted at the hotel Meurice at three o'clock in the morning of the 4th of July; after taking a short rest, we quitted the hotel Meurice at seven o'clock, and went to lodge at No. 43, Rue de Bourbon, the residence of Count de Suau de Lacroix, then absent in America. His son, whom I had met in London on his return from an important mission, confided to him for his Majesty Charles V, had written to the porter of his hotel, that two American friends of his would lodge there on their way through Paris, and that he was, therefore, to prepare the apartments for their reception. I had prevailed upon M. de Suau de Lacroix to delay for four days his departure from England, to make daily enquiries at Gloucester-lodge respecting the King's health, and to confirm the news of my

embarkation for Hamburg. In order to avert all suspicion, M. de Lacroix availed himself of the circumstance to take to the royal residence several of his friends, who after waiting some hours in the King's apartments, with the view of being presented, went away under the conviction that his Majesty was indisposed. Thus it is seen that I neglected no means of baffling suspicion respecting our journey; as my intimacy with M. de Lacroix was, moreover, well known, it never could have been suspected that I should go to Paris without him.

The porter of Count de Lacroix's residence having only been apprised of our expected arrival the night before, had not had time to prepare the apartment; we found it in the greatest disorder, having been upwards of six months unoccupied. The King did not disdain to assist us in putting it to rights, and condescendingly helped us in fixing the curtain linings. The complaisance which he evinced on the occasion greatly contributed to avert every suspicion, and the porter was far from supposing that the King of Spain was cheerfully performing an upholsterer's duty.

As soon as the King was installed in his apartment, I hurried away in quest of an ex-usher of

the chamber of the Duke of Bordeaux, named Raymond, whose discretion and fidelity I had often put to the test; and I placed him in personal attendance upon the King.

This old servant of the Bourbons proved highly acceptable to his Majesty, especially when the King found that he had had the happiness of serving the young prince; he asked him many questions regarding the royal family, and especially the august child. The replies of the trusty servant confirmed the King in the favourable opinion he had already formed of that noble offspring, the remaining hope of France, and he deemed him worthy of the high destiny which providence reserves for him. Raymond, who was far from suspecting that he was in the service of so exalted a personage, mistook the King for some foreigner of distinction, and recommended himself to his protection, whenever he might return to Paris.

Our passports engaged my immediate attention; they had no doubt been delivered to us regularly examined; but the expectation of a letter from London, which was to inform us if the King's absence was in any way suspected, delayed for several hours our departure. We could only receive that letter at seven o'clock in the evening; it announced

to us, as previously agreed upon: "*that the King's* "*illness continues, notwithstanding the attentions be-* "*stowed upon him, and that news of the travellers* "*were impatiently expected.*" We had decidedly baffled every one by our stratagem.

After having read this important and strange communication, we repaired to the house of M. Jauge, where the carriage was in waiting for us. I had called on him at eight o'clock in the morning, to request he would procure us a travelling carriage, and give me a letter of credit in exchange for bills. It was agreed with the King that instead of taking our departure from the hotel where we resided, we should, in order not to draw down upon us the suspicion of the police, repair to M. Jauge, and start from his residence. We accordingly proceeded thither, and the King partook of the refreshments he had prepared for him.

The King had conversed in the morning with M. Jauge, respecting a loan he had contracted in England, and had requested his concurrence in the negotiation. M. Jauge did not disguise from the King that overtures had already been made to him by houses in foreign countries, and that he had always refused his consent, considering the impossibility of placing the loan during the King's

absence from his kingdom; but that as His Majesty himself condescended to acquaint him with his noble intention, he was now wholly at his disposal and command.

It was eight o'clock at night when we entered the travelling carriage. The streets of Paris displayed that brilliant and animated aspect they always present on a fine summer's evening; the approaches of the place Louis XV were covered with elegant equipages proceeding at a rapid rate towards the Champs Elysées and the Bois de Boulogne; young men on horseback, and pedestrians, added to the scene an appearance of festivity, which strangely contrasted with the thought that absorbed the mind of the King to whom I pointed out the spot where, forty-one years before, had rolled the head of Louis XVI divested of its crown. I was remarking to my august travelling companion, that from the scaffold of the martyr King, to the model in painted canvas of the obelisk of Luxor, upwards of twenty projects of monuments had followed each other in succession on that ensanguined spot, and that no edifice could be durable on a soil which appeared doomed to be cursed with sterility.

"Revolutions," said the King, "can only do the work of destruction; they possess not the germ

of reconstruction; in my native land, they have shaken, in the space of a few years, that Spanish monarchy so strong and powerful, and have plunged the country into the most cruel anarchy."

Our carriage was at this moment detained by a species of pleasure car covered over with a cloth awning. I cast my eyes upon the car, to see who were the illustrious travellers for whom our postillion gave way, and I recognised Louis-Philippe and his family proceeding to Neuilly. I quickly pointed him out to the King, saying: "*Look before you, Sire, and behold your august cousin, the King of the French, who comes to wish you a happy journey.*" Charles V hastened to look at his worthy relative, who erroneously fancied that some one was bowing to him, and raised his hand to his royal grey hat, graciously lowering it to the Spanish Majesty; Queen Amelia and the Princesses her daughters vied in courtesy with their father. The King laughed heartily at Louis-Philippe's salutation, and whispered to me: "My worthy cousin of Orleans does not suspect that I am traversing his dominions without his leave, and am preparing to tear up, with the point of my sword, his treaty of the quadruple alliance."

This occurrence suggested serious reflections to

the King; the meeting presented so much singularity in its contrasts, that Charles V was struck with it. The two principles represented by Charles V and Louis-Philippe, coming, as it were, in contact on the very spot where the revolution had struck at a King's head, presented a spectacle which wholly absorbed the mind of Charles V; I drew him out of this meditation by cheerfully saying to him: "How fortunate, Sire, is Louis-Philippe; his salutation was made with too good a grace not to be a favourable omen to you; it is a fortunate presage of the success of our journey." I spoke the truth, for no sinister accident happened to us.

As we proceeded on our way, the King recovered his habitual spirits; he possessed that kind of satisfaction which is always entertained at the performance of a duty. It was easy to perceive that Charles V felt an inward pleasure at the courageous resolution he had adopted, and on my expressing uneasiness at the fatigue he endured owing to the bad night he had passed in an ill-suspended travelling carriage: "I console myself," he observed, "in reflecting that, like my ancestor Louis XIV, *I am going to enact my part of King*. The days when

the Kings of Spain reposed quietly under the cool shades of Aranjuez, or in the royal solitudes of the Escurial, are far from us, and it will be long ere they again return; I fear that my reign will be a continual warfare against revolution; happy if I can live long enough to repair all the evils it has accumulated upon Spain."

The happiness of the Spanish nation was the exclusive subject of the King's conversations; he would often say, with tears in his eyes, "*The Spaniards are so good, so generous a people! none are more sensible than I am how much they are deserving of prosperity and happiness.*"

We alighted for supper at Lonjumeau, near Paris; the King felt a great appetite, and as it was not optional with us to select our *Very*, we entered a species of tavern dignified with the name of coffee-house. If our repast was not over delicate, it was at least seasoned with a kind of pastoral scene which greatly amused the King. Near the counter, or rather the table which supplied the place of one, stood the two daughters of the hostess; whilst the mother was engaged in attendance upon us, and could not keep watch over them, they were exchanging tender looks and words with a tall, hand-

some young man, who was no doubt the cock of the walk.

We rapidly pursued our journey, breakfasted next morning at Mer-sur-Loire, between Orleans and Blois, a place celebrated for its fried gudgeons. I enquired of his Majesty if he was desirous of tasting them; the King assented, and we alighted at the best tavern in the town. A regular breakfast was served up in a few moments; the dish of gudgeons, which the hostess had brought to us, with an air of proud satisfaction, appeared to the King far inferior to its reputation; he preferred a dish of strawberries and cream, the first he had tasted in France, and found them as richly scented as those of the gardens of Aranjuez.

The King regretted much, as we passed through Tours, that his travelling incognito prevented his seeing the Duke of Grenada, who, ever since the capture of Vittoria by Saarsfield, has taken up his residence in Tours, where he is closely watched by the *juste milieu* police. The Duke of Grenada is one of the few grandees of Spain who have remained true to legitimacy; the King was greatly affected at being unable to see him, the more so, as he has always been much attached to this faithful adherent. He would have wished, likewise, to have

seen the Count d'España, who resided in the same city under a still severer watch. The general, whom the revolutionary press has so unrelentingly persecuted, had rendered essential services to Ferdinand VII, whilst in command of Catalonia as captain-general, by crushing the mad projects of a handful of revolutionists, who attempted to rekindle a civil war in that fine province, by far the most industrious in Spain. I say nothing of his conduct at the time of Bessières' insurrection, and of the reproaches which a great number of royalists thought themselves warranted in heaping upon him when that general, Vidal, and their companions, were put to death by his orders, as the whole of that business was involved in impenetrable mystery. Many royalists pretend that Bessières had only acted, on that occasion, by positive orders from the King, who, as they asserted, wanted a pretext for changing the ministers that had been forced upon him, and whose yoke he felt the utmost repugnance in tolerating. Others affirm that this is an atrocious calumny, invented by the enemies of the monarch. It does not belong to me to determine the question, for it would be unbecoming in a royalist to pronounce judgment upon an event which would so seriously compromise the memory of a sovereign;

I leave the task to the enemies of royalty, and shall content myself with saying, that before the movement had time to spread through the other provinces, it was stifled by Ferdinand, who proceeded in person to Catalonia, and that the Count d'España only acted by his orders. Nevertheless, I am far from approving the barbarous executions which took place in Barcelona, and in various parts of Catalonia, during the King's residence in that province.

I endeavoured to obtain from the King some explanation on this subject. He seemed as much at a loss as I was to account for it, or rather his habitual circumspection would not allow his emitting an opinion, on an event which might detract from the memory of his brother. He merely joined me in deploring the death of those gallant officers who had exhibited such proofs of attachment to his family, and who, on that occasion, fell victims to the conviction that their movement was sanctioned by the King's approbation. Let us, however, resume the narrative of our journey.

We breakfasted the next morning at Barbezieux though not without difficulty. Some persons wished to conduct us to the hotel de la Poste, others to the hotel on the Cours. The wretched appearance of

the former place made us at last give a preference to the latter. We therefore went to the hotel of *l'Ecu de France* ; every attention was lavished upon us. The hostess, whilst preparing our breakfast, betook herself to relating all her affairs, all her projects, her efforts to please travellers, the means resorted to, at the rival hotel, to prevent their coming to her, their attempting to propagate a multitude of absurd stories to the prejudice of her establishment, and that by means of the postillions, who were treated to a handsome gratification as often as they brought a travelling carriage to their house. The King seemed to pay great attention to her story; she was, accordingly, delighted with him, and said to me—" *What an excellent gentleman ; how much he takes an interest in what concerns me !*"

It is a fact worthy of remark, that we had the telegraph before us during the whole of our journey. That wretched telegraph which we so often perceived in motion, as often gave me uneasiness, and made me pass many unpleasant moments ; perhaps, I said to myself, it is transmitting the news of our absence from England ; which some act of indiscretion may have divulged; I should have given a great deal to have procured the key of its pantomimic motions. The King said with a smile:

"It no doubt announces that I am detained at my residence of Gloucester-lodge by a serious illness, that my life is despaired of; and my kind cousin, who takes such interest in my fate, is transmitting that sad event to my beloved Spanish niece." The artful Talleyrand was completely the dupe of this pretended illness; so much so, that he sent several telegraphic dispatches which confirmed the error: the Spanish ambassador himself considered the King's death as being near at hand. The news of our arrival must have been a thunderbolt to them.

Our journey proved prosperous as far as Cubzac; but on reaching that town, the horse which our young postillion rode, fell to the ground; we thought it was dead, and it was found very difficult to make it rise. The two first persons who came to our assistance were gendarmes, who conversed with us for a long time, with as little suspicion as Louis-Philippe had felt. We were rolling along with great rapidity, because I had commissioned the courier who carried the mail to have horses prepared for us along the road. The postillion on coming up to us for his perquisite, said to the King: —"*You must own, Sir, that I drove you along as if you had been a King.*"—"*Perhaps,*" I replied, "*you would not have done so, had he been one.*" Don Carlos smiled at my observation.

We reached Bordeaux on Sunday, the 6th of July, at ten o'clock at night. Being unwilling to attract notice by arriving at full speed at the hotel where we intended to alight, I ordered the postillion to take us to the owner of our carriage, a coachmaker in the Rue du Portmahon. There was no one at home, all the family having gone out to walk; I decided upon having the carriage unloaded at his door, and went in search of a hackney-coach; when I returned, I found the King helping the coachman to unload our baggage.

We selected the Hotel de Nantes for our night's lodging; the landlady astonished at our late arrival, enquired of us by what carriage we had come:—"By the mail," I unhesitatingly replied. And as that carriage generally arrives between three and four o'clock, I added that we had dined with a fellow-traveller, previously to coming to her hotel.

I rose at an early hour the next morning, and proceeded to the residence of the Baron Albert Pichon de Longueville, to propose his giving shelter to the King, and accompanying us in his carriage to the house of the Marquis de Lalande, his brother-in-law, situated a league beyond Bayonne. I was most anxious he should come with us, as he was in the practice of spending a part of the summer with his brother-in-law, and was ac-

cordingly well known to all the post-masters on the road. He joyfully accepted my proposal, though he then was in a very suffering state of health; but when it is a question of a display of zeal for a member of the house of Bourbon, the Baron de Longueville is always at his post; he is one of those men of tried fidelity to the cause, who are always ready to concur by every means in strengthening or raising a throne.

I adopted the greatest precaution in removing our luggage to the house of the Baron de Pichon, as we were unwilling that the place to which we were about to remove should be known at our hotel. The worthy M. M—— took this task upon himself; he also accompanied the King who proceeded on foot to the church of St. Dominick, where he heard mass for the first time since he left London. This had, perhaps, been one of the severest privations felt by Charles V during his journey. Those alone who are acquainted with Spain can know the hold which the performance of religious duties possesses over Spaniards; it is not without a just cause that the church has bestowed upon the Kings of Spain the revered title of *Catholic Majesty*.

I took leave of our landlady during this interval;

she proposed giving me a letter of recommendation for her mother who keeps a bathing establishment at Bagnières; I eagerly accepted her letter, and the newspapers which she also requested me to deliver.

I then went in search of his Majesty, and conducted him to M. de Pichon. The King purchased gloves and a travelling cap on the way. He was about to pay very generously the price demanded, when I hastened to bargain a little for the purchases, in order that the seller should not suspect he was dealing with a prince. On arriving at M. de Pichon, where the King was received with great demonstration of joy and respect; his Majesty conversed with all the family in the most affable and princely manner, addressed the most courteous expressions to the Baron and Baroness de Pichon, the Count and Countess de Lalande, their brother-in-law and sister, and then withdrew to his apartment; the Count de Lalande afterwards accompanied him to a bathing house, and lost no opportunity of evincing towards his Majesty the most unvaried and attentive zeal.

We sat down to table at the hour of four. The King was very cheerful during the repast; at five we took leave of the amiable family of Baron de

Pichon, and proceeded with him on our way to Bayonne.

We fell in the next day with the seminarists of Dax, who surrounded our carriage whilst we were changing horses; the King addressed kind words to them, in return for the politeness they shewed us without knowing who we were. On my return, I chanced to travel with a venerable clergyman of the same town, who told me that these worthy seminarists had been so affected at the King's affability; that when they heard of his having entered Spain, they justly supposed he must have been the personage who had conversed with them in so condescending a manner.

At one in the afternoon of the same day, we reached the dwelling of the Marquis de Lalande, one of those men whose zeal is never exhausted, however perilous the occasion for its display; a man of courage and talent, who enjoys throughout the province where he resides, a well merited reputation for public honour and probity. When he ascertained the character of the guest we brought to him, he made every effort to receive him in a suitable manner. As soon as he had conducted us to his apartment, I requested he would go in search of Mr. D——— at Bayonne, and concert with him the

measures of safety calculated to facilitate our entering Spain. They returned together at five in the afternoon. Poor D——— was so much affected, his mind was so absorbed in the subject which brought him to us, that he mistook every one for the King. I enquired of him whether he could procure guides to enable us to pass the frontier on the following day. He replied that he would require a few days to provide the most indispensable measure of security. "In that case," I observed, "we will pass the frontier unaccompanied; we are too near the harbour to incur the risk of being shipwrecked before we enter it; and the telegraph gives me too much uneasiness to allow of any longer delay in our quitting France; this must necessarily take place to-morrow." After being presented to the King, he hastened back to Bayonne, and returned at an early hour the next morning, to announce to us the glad tidings that every thing was prepared, that at ten o'clock our guides would be in waiting for us at a quarter of a league from Bayonne, on the road to Sarre. We entered the calècheof the Marquis de Lalande at half past nine; the marquis and his wife sat with their backs to the horses; facing them sat the King, Mademoiselle de Lalande and I; the King on the

right, I on the left, and Mademoiselle de Lalande between us.

We passed through the most frequented part of Bayonne at ten in the morning. On arriving at the rendezvous, we only found there the Baron de Pichon and the son of the Marquis de Lalande.

Our guides had not arrived, and kept us two hours in waiting; we were lost in conjectures at the cause of this delay, and laboured under the most intense anxiety; but the King, whose calmness never forsook him, was endeavouring to allay our fears; at last, our guides appeared. They were Messrs. D——— de Cruz, Don Miguel's consul at Bayonne, and Rivet, ex-body guard of his Majesty Charles X. We took leave of our amiable travelling companions, mounted the horses brought for us by the Baron de Pichon and young de Lalande, and continued our journey; two of our guides preceeded us, and I followed with the King and the third guide.

We met, soon afterwards, the commander of the gendarmerie, who by one of those singular chances, which might have been attended with most fatal consequences, knew one of our travelling companions. He proceeded in our company as far as Sarre, the last French village, where he was going

to sell his horse; he conversed for a long time with the King, whom he mistook for an Englishman, owing to the popular notion of the south, which considers that all foreigners travelling in France are Englishmen. This commanding officer was a man of perfect good breeding, whose manners calmed our apprehensions, and who gave us no indication of his being an officer of the gendarmerie.

We dined at Sarre, at the house of M———, on whom we imposed the belief that the King was a Russian ambassador, and who accompanied us as far as the frontier.

At the moment of our setting foot on the Spanish territory, an eagle flew out of one of the surrounding rocks, rose above our heads, and directed its flight towards Navarre. "This is a good omen," said I to the King, pointing out to him that symbol of victory, which seemed to have been placed as a sentry to welcome the King of Spain, on his return to his dominions.

CHAPTER XI.

Entry of the King into Spain—Effects of his presence upon the Army and the People.

It was six o'clock when we made our entry into Spain in disguise, a *ruse de guerre*, to which Kings are but little accustomed. M. D——— quitted us to return to Bayonne, with two letters which he had to send by a courier—the one to Paris, the other to London.

We directed our steps towards Maja, continuing to preserve the strictest incognito. On the following day we breakfasted at Ariscum, a little village seven leagues from Pampeluna, at the house of a lady whose husband had been forced to fly into France, to escape the persecutions of the Christinos. During this breakfast, whereat the principal inhabitants of the village assisted, we caused the conversation to turn upon the approaching arrival of

Charles V. I offered to bet, that before fifteen days he would positively be in Spain. The wager was taken. " It is a sure bet," said I to them, " and there is nobody better able than M. the ambassador (I pointed out the King,) to give you news of Don Carlos, since he saw him before his departure from London."

I put to them, likewise, sundry questions, tending to elicit what influence the arrival of Don Carlos would exercise upon their minds. We were readily convinced that it would be signalized by a general rising of the four northern provinces which had remained faithful to their sovereign. I finally proposed to the Russian ambassador to drink the health of the King, and the toast was accepted and passed round with enthusiasm.

We were enjoined to take the greatest precaution, in order to ensure the safety of the King, up to that moment in which we should find ourselves in the midst of our own partisans, and sufficiently far from the frontiers of France and the environs of St. Sebastian, to entertain no further cause of fear, either as regarded a *coup-de-main* on the part of the French troops, who should be informed of our arrival in Spain, and who would not mind a violation of territory with the view of making so

important a capture as that of Charles V, or as regarded the chance of falling into the hands of a party of Christinos, who might issue from St. Sebastian or other strong places in Navarre.

We encountered, throughout our entire route from the frontier, royalist troops, who were far from imagining that the King was in the midst of them; their steadiness was complete; one of the members of the junta of Navarre accompanied us as far as Elisondo. It then became no longer possible to restrain the delight of these good Navarrese. The news of his Majesty's arrival spread through the province with electric rapidity. The entire population gathered round the prince; they were intoxicated with joy at sight of him; they pressed upon his steps, threw themselves on their knees, and kissed his hands; it recalled to mind, indeed, what Henry IV said of the Parisians, "They thirsted to see a King."

CHAPTER XII.

Statistical glance at the Northern Provinces—First operations of Charles V.

THE provinces of the north, the first which lifted the royal banner, and embraced the cause of legitimacy, are Navarre, and those called in Spain the provinces *Vascongadas*, comprehending the lordships of Biscay, of Alava, and of Guipuscoa.

Biscay, formerly called Cantabria, is bounded on the north by the gulf of Gascony, on the east by Guipuscoa, on the south-east by Alava, on the west it is limited by what is called the country of the four towns.* Bilboa is the capital. Its other

* This is denominated a district enclosed between the lordships of Biscay, of Alava, of Guipuscoa, and the provinces of Old Castille. The Four Towns are—Orduna, Oquenda, Messana, and Respulde, and one might add Orto, which is situated upon this territory.

ports are Plencia, Lequeitio, Bermeu and Laredo; it is watered by the Bidassoa and the Ansa. Its population comprises 116,000 souls—the greater part of which is dispersed in isolated villages among the Pyrenees, hamlets unknown to travellers.

Alava possesses for frontiers, towards the north, the country of the four towns of the territory of Guipuscoa; towards the east Navarre, and towards the south La Rioja. Its capital is Vittoria; its principal towns Salvatierra, Laneujo and Trivino. Its principal rivers the Ega, the Ansa, and the Urola. It is intersected by great ranges of mountains, which are linked with the grand chain of the Pyrenees.

Guipuscoa is a very hilly country, or rather may be designated one long and vast mountain shut in between the gulf of Gascony, Navarre, Lower Navarre in France, Alava and the country of the Four Towns. The capital is Tolosa; and the other chief towns are Bergara, Placencia, Fontarabia, and St. Sebastian. The finest port is that of the latter place, and the others are those of Orio, Zaranza, Guetaria, Zumaya, and Motria.

The kingdom of Navarre, which, together with the provinces Vascongadas, forms the theatre of

the war of legitimacy, in a country separated from French Navarre by the Pyrenees; on the east and south it is bounded by Arragon; on the south-west by Old Castille, and on the north-west it touches the Vascongadas. It is a country rude, diversified, and intersected by valleys and fertile plains: its mountains form the western point of the Pyrenean chain, and its most distinguished valleys are those of Roncal, Lescure, Roncevalles and Bastan; Elisondo being the principal spot. The capital of Navarre is Pampeluna, a strong city, situated seven leagues from the French frontier. Navarre is washed by the Ebro, and by several small rivers, among which may be mentioned the Queiles, the Irrati, the Arga, the Alhama, and the Cidacos. After Pampeluna, its chief cities are Tudela and Taffala.

Navarre, like all the other countries of the north of Spain, independent during the first ages of the Christian era, submitted, towards the close of the fifth century, to the yoke of the Goths and Vandals, who descended upon the Castilles, Galicia, Andalusia, and Asturias. The domination of these tribes, at first tolerant, became subsequently very tyrannical, persecuting all the believers in Christianity; the inhabitants were forced

to abandon their country, and take refuge on the northern side of the Pyrenees towards the Garonne, which region took the name of Vascony or Gascony, a name given to it by the new settlers.

Navarre, subsequently, in common with the rest of Spain, was subjected by the Moors, until the commencement of the ninth century, at which epoch a son of Charlemagne, and King of Aquitaine, chased them from this country, which he placed under the protection of the French empire. At a later era, Navarre fell into the hands of a Count of Bijorre, who proclaimed himself its sovereign, and who founded that dynasty of Kings of Navarre, which lasted during five hundred years.

At length, the kingdom passed to the house of Albret by the marriage of Catherine of Navarre, with a prince of that family in 1494. Ferdinand the Catholic afterwards seized on the greater part of Navarre, in consequence of the interdict fulminated, in 1512, against the kingdom of John III. by the Pope Julius II; and from that moment, this kingdom was broken up. The part situated on the French side of the Pyrenees, (known by the name of Lower Navarre), remained to the house of Albret until the moment when Henry IV, grandson of Henry of Albret, united it to the crown of

France in 1589. The other part, known by the name of Navarre Proper, remained subject to the King of Spain, but preserving its ancient form of government, and constitutional privileges, its ancient laws, civil and criminal, its customs and various charters, and its estates composed of three orders—the clergy, the nobility, and deputies of towns. Navarre still preserves the privilege of receiving all kinds of foreign merchandize without payment of duty. The Spanish custom-houses do not extend their influence in that direction, further than the frontier of Old Castille. In fine, it preserves all the rights, franchises, and privileges recognised in these provinces under the appellation of *fueros*.

Navarre was formerly very populous, particularly at the epoch of the famous emigration, which took place in the south of France towards the middle of the sixteenth century; at present, however, the number of its inhabitants, according to the latest investigation, amounts to 287,382. In this number may be reckoned:

Curates	753
Secular priests . . .	1,166
Monks of various orders .	1,120
Female recluses . . .	510

Nobles	13,054
Persons connected with law	172
Students	1,160
Domestics	9,910
Peasants and artisans	259,534

The Navarrese are a grave people, but spirited and brave. They are active, strong, and laborious. They are reproached with being obstinate and violent, but in other respects their habits are correct, and their understanding clear. Although they have a tendency to adopt the manners of the French, their costume differs little from that of Castille. The costume of the women, particularly in the mountains, is indeed more picturesque, and has a very peculiar character, combining elegance with a romantic air.

The Navarrese, as has been said, are brave, and they are also patient, and exceedingly sober. I have seen many of them with naked feet climbing up the mountains and traversing the woods, performing as much as twelve leagues in a day, and often getting but one fourth of a day's provision, which, with perhaps a glass of wine, or a little brandy and a cigar, enable him to undergo all kinds of fatigue. They are, besides, constant

in their affections, and incapable of ever deserting the party which they once embrace.*

Upon his arrival at Elisondo, Don Carlos wrote to Zumalacarreguy, and to the Marquis of Valdespina, to request them immediately to repair to his presence. The latter was in Biscay, at the head of the deputation of that province, where he exercised the greatest influence. General Zumalacarreguy, who was but at a short distance from Elisondo, arrived in that town on the morning of the 12th July. The King, at the sight of a servant so devoted, and to whom he owed so many obligations, could not conceal his emotion: he caught him in his arms, pressed him to his heart, and testified in a manner simple yet noble, and by a few words, at the same time his acknowledgments and his satifaction, at having the general by his side, at the moment when he was about to partake the perils of his faithful subjects. He

* Saarsfield having made nine prisoners at Artajona, asked them why they had quitted their hearths to lead a miserable and vagrant life? They replied, from their attachment to Don Carlos. Saarsfield then told them to cry "Long live the Queen," on which the prisoners exposed their breasts, saying, they would rather be shot ten times over than raise such a shout.

finally appointed him, on the same day, to be the lieutenant-general of his armies and chief of his *état-major*.

This royal favour, a just recompence for the eminent services of Zumalacarreguy, was unanimously approved of by the Navarrese.

I now saw General Zumalacarreguy for the first time, and was struck by the impression which he produced upon me. There was—in the manner at once free and noble, yet respectful, in which he accosted the King—something very imposing, and calculated to recal the type of the Spanish character in ancient times.

General Zumalacarreguy is small, but of a strong and robust organization. His grey eyes are lively and animated, betraying intellect and imagination. His expansive forehead gives token of a man capable of great resolutions : his complexion is ruddy, and reflexion and courage are both imprinted upon his unimportant figure. Like Frederic the Great, he has one shoulder somewhat higher than the other, and, like him also, he slightly inclines his head on one side, which habitual attitude gives to the whole of his person an air of determination and enterprise very analogous to his character. The spectator at once perceives signs of all the

great qualities which distinguish the warrior, and in every moment is manifested the impetuous and passionate character by which all the chief actions of his life are ruled.

The King, upon his arrival in Navarre, lost not a moment in occupying himself with the task of completing the organization of his army, and of imparting to it that impulse and weight which his presence was so well calculated to inspire. The same day, he named Don Benito Eraso camp-marshal and second commandant of the army of Navarre,* and deigned to confer on me, as a mark

* Zumalacarreguy was powerfully seconded by Colonel Don Benito Eraso, who had already distinguished himself, in 1822, against the constitutionalists, and also in 1830, on the entry of Mina into Navarre. Colonel Eraso belongs to one of the richest and most powerful families of the Valley of Roncal. He has, since 1827, commanded at the frontier line from Vera to Arragon. It is he who was charged with the organization of the brigade of volunteer chasseurs of Navarre—a corps which yields in no respects to the very best troops of the line.

He had, on the 12th of October, proclaimed Charles V at Roncevalles, with the 20 carabiniers who formed the garrison of that village, and was joined on the following day by a hundred royalist volunteers, commanded by Martin Louis Echeverria, alcalde of Bastan. The whole of this little corps repaired on the 14th to Ochagaria. Eraso having fallen ill, went for the recovery

of his royal satisfaction, the grade of brigadier of infantry. It was but a few days after, that I received the title of his aide-de-camp, which he also bestowed on General Don Benito Eraso, and camp-

of his health to Valcarlos, a small village situated near the French frontier, upon the road from Pampeluna to St. Jean Pied de Port. His sickly state hindered him not, however, from taking part in the rising of Navarre, which every day became more effectual.

The viceroy of Navarre, aware of the influence possessed by this chief over the population of these districts, sent against him a detachment of carabiniers and troops of the line, which, however, failed in taking him by surprise, although he had only time to seek refuge in the neighbouring mountains. He found himself, without knowing it, upon the French territory. The officer commanding the detachment of French troops which occupied this point of the frontier, arrested him, and would have delivered him over to the Christinos but for the interposition of the brave colonel of the national guard of St. Jean Pied de Port, who resolutely opposed this act of inhumanity. Col. Eraso, led before the prefect of the Lower Pyrenees, was dispatched by his orders to Angoulême; but, having arrived at Bordeaux, he was fortunate enough to escape from the surveillance of his gaolers, and to find a safe asylum in the hotel of Baron de Pichon de Longueville. By means of a disguise, he succeeded in re-entering Navarre, by way of Vera. It was proposed to confide to him the chief command, but he ceded this distinction to his worthy friend Zumalacarreguy, whose military talents he well knew, and under whom he was contented to hold the office of second in command.

marshal Don Fernando Zavala, commander-in-chief of the army of Biscay. Camp-marshal Uranga, ancient commander-in-chief of the royal army of Alava, obtained, at a later period, the same favour. These several decrees were countersigned by Lieutenant General Count de Villemur, to whom the King had confided, *ad interim*, the portfolio of the war department.

The King addressed, on the day of his arrival, a proclamation to the royalist army; and an amnesty was offered to the rebel generals, officers, and soldiers on the 15th of the same month. The King likewise issued a proclamation to the Spanish nation. These two documents, which will be found at their proper dates, among the explanatory documents, sufficiently prove the spirit of clemency and conciliation which animated his Majesty on re-entering his dominions.

The King afterwards received the members of the junta of Navarre, the principal authorities, the officers of different corps, and the city notables. In the evening, a Te Deum was chanted in thanksgiving for his Majesty's arrival, and all night there were public rejoicings, the entire charge of which was defrayed by the popular enthusiasm. The most distinguished females of the city, mixing with

the commoner grades of the people, came beneath the windows of the King, and took part in the dances and national songs, that signalised this unpremeditated concert and ball.

Next day, the King, accompanied by General Zumalaçarreguy, his aides-de-camp, and the president and secretary of the junta, went to pass in review the six battalions and three squadrons of Navarre, which were at a distance of seven leagues from Elisondo.

Among the troops, a general enthusiasm prevailed: both privates and officers seemed rewarded for all their fatigues and all their devotion, by the sight alone of their King. After nine months of conflict, it was the first day of repose and happiness they had tasted. The troops were desirous of giving a military fête to their prince; they danced around their bivouac fires, to the sound of martial music, during part of the night, amidst shouts of "Long live Charles the Vth." His Majesty was rejoined at some distance by the Marquis of Valdespina, and the members of the juntas of Guipuscoa, Alava and Biscay. The King engaged them to accompany him during the review, at which he was about to be present of the troops of the Vascongadas. His route was a triumphal

march through a population continually watching his steps. Young girls pressed around him, dancing boleros to the sound of the tambourin, whilst men, according to the ancient usages of the Spaniards, threw their cloaks under the feet of his Majesty's horse. In a word, never within the memory of man, had a sovereign been received with so many marks of allegiance and love. Some days after, the King created a deliberative junta, composed of the presidents of the several royalist juntas, for the purpose of investigating both the resources and wants of the provinces which they represented. It consisted of the Marquis of Valdespina, grandee of Spain of the first class ; Echevaria, a priest ; Uranga, camp-marshal ; Alsaa, colonel of Guipuscoa ; and Don Benito Eraso, camp-marshal ; Vidaondo, secretary ; Count de Villemur and Zumalacarreguy had likewise each a deliberative voice.

The rigorous measures adopted by the French government against the faithful Spaniards who flocked to range themselves around the standard of their King, were not able to quench the generous devotion of several officers who had accompanied Charles V from Portugal to England. After the departure of his Majesty from London, they risked a journey through France, and braved the police of

M. Thiers. The first who had the good fortune to escape the myrmidons of the *juste-milieu* was M. Cruz-Mayor, assistant minister of foreign affairs during the administration of the Count de Alcudia; that minister had recalled him from Lisbon, where he was secretary of legation, to attach him to his own special cabinet. Having sought refuge in France, since the close of the year 1833, he resided at Bordeaux when his Majesty passed through that town. He there received orders to rejoin the King, and on his arrival in Navarre, Charles V confided to him provisionally the portfolio of foreign affairs.

The second who came to join us was Don José Villavicencio, gentleman of his Majesty's chamber. This young man, full of courage and devotion, had never quitted his august master during the whole period of his exile. As soon as he learned his departure from Gloucester-lodge, he solicited from the Queen permission to go and rejoin him in Navarre. Having encountered all dangers with the courage of zeal, he succeeded in overtaking him at St. Esteban during the last days of July. His noble example was soon followed by another gentleman in ordinary to the King, Don José Guilen, who was as fortunate as his honourable friend. Other

officers successively arrived, to take rank among the brave soldiers of Navarre, while some were unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of the French police. Among these were General Moreno, and Colonel O'Donnell, and Urbistondo Eguia, who were dragged before the courts of assize, under the plea of travelling with fictitious names. The first mentioned officer was the object of cruel persecution: the judges of the *juste-milieu* made him expiate his fidelity to the cause of his sovereign by three months of a rude imprisonment. Now, however, General Moreno is beside his King, whom he serves both by his counsel and his sword. A skillful and courageous general, he justifies the confidence which has been placed by Charles V in his experience and devotion.

The two Colonels, O'Donnell and Urbistondo, more fortunate in France than General Moreno, were reserved for other destinies. The brave Urbistondo embarked, with twenty-six Spanish officers, in a vessel freighted with arms and ammunition for the forces of Don Carlos; and it had the misfortune to be captured by a Christino schooner. Urbistondo and his companions owed their lives to the energetic intervention of England; they are detained in the castle of St. Antony at Corunna.

The chances to which faithful subjects are exposed are often different, but always honourable.

Colonel O'Donnell, having had the good fortune to reach the royal army, obtained, shortly after his arrival, the chief command of the cavalry. In every affair in which he charged at the head of his squadron, he showed himself worthy of the name he bore. All Europe knows the glorious death which he found on the field of battle. Pursuing, at the head of sundry horsemen a flying squadron of the enemy, he fell, desperately wounded by a ball. Borne back to the camp, he survived his wound but a few days. His death has been honoured by the regrets of the King, and by testimonies of esteem from the whole army, which lost in him one of its bravest officers.

Lieutenant-General Maroto and Colonel Sacanell, gentlemen-in-ordinary to the young Infants, after having undergone a long detention in Spain, succeeded in rejoining the King, during his sojourn in Portugal. They accompanied him to London, on his departure from Evora, and after encountering numberless difficulties and the greatest dangers, now again repaired to his standard in Navarre. Colonels Martinez and Sarradilla displayed, on their part, no less courage and devotedness. Ar-

rived near his Majesty, they undertook and have fulfilled missions the most difficult and perilous.

We regret our inability to mention the names of all the officers who have come to offer their sword to their King; we would willingly recount a series of actions, heroic and enterprising, undertaken in the teeth of dangers opposing them at every step, and to which nothing could possibly impel the actors in them but the true heroism of fidelity, and the most sublime sentiments of duty.

Previous to commencing a recital of the events that have taken place since the arrival of the King in his dominions, it is important to make known the principal operations of the army of Navarre *before* the entry of his Majesty into that province.

Since the beginning of the war, General Zumalacarreguy had formed a plan of operations based upon his temporising system of marches and countermarches, of activity and surprise, proposing to himself, as a model, the Roman general opposed to the Carthaginians. Quesada had taken the chief command of the Christino troops, as has been already stated. This general, little accustomed to the fatigues of war, and without a due knowledge of the country—in fact, essentially a courtier—presented to the energy of the carlist leader oppor-

tunities, of which he well knew how to take advantage. After having beaten the lieutenants of Quesada in all their rencounters, Zumalacarreguy ardently sought occasion to confront the general-in-chief himself.

It was night, when the two armies met in the valley of Alsama. It would be useless to go into the details of that affair, did it not exhibit one of those incidents which so well characterise the quackery of all the generals employed in Navarre to suppress the insurrection.

The war had not yet assumed that character of ferocity which has since rendered the two parties irreconcileable. Quesada believed that humanity dictated it as a duty to spare the effusion of Spanish blood. On the eve of the battle, two officers were sent to Zumalacarreguy, to urge him to lay down his arms. Not content with treating him as already conquered, Quesada conceived that he might add insult to bravado. His communication was addressed to the chief of the brigands. This language was the less becoming in Quesada, inasmuch as he himself, in 1822, had followed the same course, and Zumalacarreguy then served under his orders.

The *Chief of the Brigands* merely laughed, and

declined replying till *next day*. On the morning of that day the battle was fought, and Quesada, after losing a third of his forces, hastened to seek refuge in Vittoria. He escaped, indeed, falling into the hands of his enemy, but owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse, and the gallantry of Lieutenant-Colonel Leopold O'Donnell, who, with a detachment of the guard, of which he was commandant, arrested, in a defile, the onward march of the royalist troops, and thus gave his general an opportunity of escape. This brave officer was eventually made prisoner, with all his company. The soldiers were incorporated with the ranks of the royalists. The officers were shot. O'Donnell and his companions addressed, before their death, a letter to the Queen-Regent, wherein they expressed, with great dignity and humanity, unalloyed by a shade of weakness, their sense of the barbarous conduct of Quesada towards the carlist prisoners, which had reduced General Zumalacarreguy to a dire necessity of exercising the most cruel reprisals. These unhappy men added, that they died without emotions of hatred towards their enemies, whose pity and attention had, as far as was possible, alleviated their fate; and that they attributed that fate wholly to the obstinacy of

Quesada, in brutally refusing any exchange of prisoners. A few days after, that general received intelligence of his being superseded by Rodil.

Three generals had thus successively exhausted all their military tactics and skill, and their past glory could not preserve them from the shame attached to their present defeat. Was Rodil, followed by a strong body of recruits, to be more successful than Saarsfield, Valdes, and Quesada?

The arrival of this leader in Navarre coincided, in a remarkable manner, with that of the King in his dominions. Rodil brought to the army of Christina the formidable reinforcement of his army of Portugal.

This reinforcement was happily counterbalanced by the presence of his Majesty, in itself worth an army. If the supply of arms, artillery, and other warlike stores, promised by the banker who contracted the loan, had arrived at the same time, no doubt but the rising would have been general, and we should then have been able to march upon Madrid. Unhappily, as it was, we soon obtained the melancholy certainty that the contractor had failed to fulfil the whole of his engagements. Two millions were yet to come; there having been no more than 200,000 fr. or thereabouts received;

and even this sum we could not appropriate till fifteen days after our arrival*.

It is proper here to acquaint the reader with the immense obstacles which the King encountered—obstacles which rendered it impossible for him to make, at first, the progress which Europe expected his presence would ensure. The situation of the army was such, at the time of the King's arrival in Navarre, that, had his return been retarded for one month, it is doubtful if the insurrection could have been maintained. All the necessaries of war were wanting, nor could they be procured, so much had the smugglers been terrified by the rigorous measures of the French government. The arms in hand were in a very bad state; about a third of the firelocks were destitute of bayonets, and, to make matters worse, divisions existed between several of the chiefs.

The first care of the King was to re-establish harmony among his generals; and to attain this

* A part of this sum had, however, found its way into the coffers of the royal army, before even the bills had been accepted. The King owed this service to M. L——, banker at Bayonne, whose disinterestedness, with respect to every thing that could be useful in advancing the cause of Charles V, has ever been noble and generous.

end, he took measures so wise as to conciliate all parties. Charles V shunned having recourse to means calculated to exasperate the greater part of the nation. Desirous of shewing his sense of the eminent services that had been rendered him by the faithful provinces, he confirmed all their privileges; while at the same time he expanded his arms to his erring children, inviting them all to seek refuge in his royal clemency, and promising to them pardon and oblivion of the past.

It is beyond doubt that the greater portion of the rebel army would have hastened to reply to this paternal appeal of their legitimate King, if it had been convinced of his presence in Spain; but the Christino generals were resolute in persuading their troops that Zumalacarreguy, seeing himself on the point of abandonment by his partisans, had, in order to revive their drooping courage, caused the monarch to be represented by an adventurer. This absurd report was credited throughout the army; and to prevent the chance of its falsity being at length detected, Rodil hastened to collect all his forces and lead them against Charles V.

Zumalacarreguy, conscious that it would be impracticable to resist forces numerically so superior to his own, proposed to the King to separate

from him, and thus divide the hostile masses. He left with his Majesty a battalion by way of guard, under the command of Don Benito Eraso.

Rodil now dispatched against Zumalacarreguy two of his corps d'armée, and went himself, with the main body, in pursuit of the King. During two months he left him not a moment of repose; the King often found himself encircled by four hostile columns, having for his defence but 300 men, sometimes indeed only 60. He owed his safety, in fact, only to the affection of the people, who, at the peril of their lives and fortunes, apprized him of every movement of the enemy. At each turn we eluded his manœuvres; and often, when he believed himself close to us, we were at our greatest distance from him.

The camp marshal, Don Benito Eraso, rendered, under these circumstances, great services to his royal master by his perfect knowledge of the country. It is owing to his skilful marches, and hardy counter-marches, that the King was indebted for escape from his enemy.

It is impossible to afford an idea of what his Majesty suffered during these painful manœuvres. Obliged to traverse from twelve to fifteen leagues a day through the most horrible roads, and mostly

visited by incessant rain; often without anything to eat, and happy when he could find a shelter for his head; though sleeping most frequently upon a little straw or a haycock, the sight of a country inn was to him a delight, even though situated upon the highest peak of the Pyrenees, and enveloped by the cold and almost impenetrable mists of those lofty regions.

In the midst of these dangers of every kind, the King's courage and firmness of soul never, for an instant, deserted him. On witnessing this ever-constant disposition, this equanimity of mind, one might have imagined that Don Carlos had been born in the midst of camps. Those who were spectators of the energy and courage he so long manifested, could well appreciate the shameful calumnies put forth against this prince in the various journals devoted to the cause of Christina. There is sufficient guarantee for the future given by a monarch who so well comprehends his duties, and who has passed through the sharpest trials of adversity, in order to ascend his throne.

Zumalacarreguy having, by his happy conception of separating from the King, divided the hostile forces, thence obtained the advantage of encountering them in detail. He defeated them in several

actions, in one of which the Christinos were commanded by General Baron de Carondelet. On the 19th of August, twenty select companies formed themselves in the plains of Larria, in presence of the troops of this officer of the usurpation. The affair was decisive in favour of the royalists, and both Carondelet's infantry and cavalry sustained enormous losses. Among the superior Christino officers who perished in this rencontre, was Brigadier Harranoz, colonel of the provincial regiment of Valladolid ; and amongst the prisoners, the Count de Via-Manuel, grandee of Spain of the first class. He served in the état-major with the rank of colonel. Horses, mules, and a great number of firelocks, fell into the hands of the victors, who also seized the enemy's baggage, ammunition, and a great quantity of various equipments. Money was distributed among the troops of the victorious detachment.

Many successive engagements, indeed, took place between the two parties, without much real advantage on either side, until at length the glorious affair of the 4th September proved to demonstration the superiority of our arms.

General Carondelet occupied, with his division, the little town of Viana, situated two leagues from

Logrono. Zumalacarreguy repaired, in order to give some repose to his troops, to the valley of Santa Cruz, five leagues distant from the point occupied by the Christinos. Advised, on the morning of the 4th, of their presence, he speedily summoned his forces, and by a hasty march, the royalist troops found themselves, a few hours afterwards, in front of Viana. The four first battalions of Navarre, with a regiment of lancers (about 300 strong,) and some other detachments, formed this corps d'armée ; while the enemy's forces amounted to 600 horse, and from 1,000 to 1,200 foot soldiers.

The advantageous position taken up by the enemy in front of Viana, ought to have rendered their defeat impossible, but it was not so : at the first shock, their infantry was dispersed and fled in all directions.

Their cavalry made no better resistance. Vigorously attacked by the three hundred lancers, the chasseurs of the royal guard surrendered at discretion. Their colonel lay stretched upon the field of battle : four hundred of the enemy killed, and three hundred taken prisoners, together with the loss of a great quantity of horses and arms, were the results of this brilliant affair.

In times of civil war, the position of a town oc-

cupied in turn by both the opposing parties, is necessarily very critical. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Viana could not resist the feelings of enthusiasm which were generated among them by this victory. The town was illuminated, and numerous public rejoicings attested the sympathy felt by its population for the cause of their King.

The month of September flowed on, signalized by marches and counter-marches, which more distressed the enemy, and produced to him greater disadvantages, than if the royalist party had gained fresh victories.

Rodil, after having exhausted in vain all the resources of his own military skill, decided on making experiment of the system of warfare which Valdes had, with so little success, previously attempted, and of which his recent defeats had sufficiently proved the ineligibility. He manœuvred so as to occupy several important positions, and fulminated orders of devastation and terror; he fired the forests, in villages known to be friendly to the King; he decimated the inhabitants; he sought to famish the people, by burning the mills and granaries, and destroying the crops; but he had no time allowed him to continue this war of barbarism.

His sojourn in Navarre, was, however, an epoch

of mourning and terror to the country. There was not a village or hamlet that did not exhibit traces of the fury of this sanguinary pro-consul. Every house in which the King had reposed was consigned to the flames, the inhabitants being compelled to witness the incendiary act, while their goods were at the same time confiscated, and themselves subsequently dragged away to prison, to hold their lives at the caprice of this ferocious chieftain.

It would seem as if every species of calamity had fallen at once on this devoted country. The Asiatic plague developed itself with frightful intensity. It spread from town to town, from village to village, without any remedial efforts being adequate to check its progress. Among the troops of Rodil, the mortality increased daily; and the cholera swept away those whom the sword spared. In the royal army, on the contrary, the ravages of this pest were not perceptible.

During the period thus alluded to, we were not inactive. Six Navarrese battalions were organized, and armed with weapons taken from the enemy. The cavalry was augmented by four squadrons, and now counted near seven hundred horses. The organization of the Biscayan troops was completed, and they

vied, in hardihood and discipline, with the troops of the line of the other provinces. Our artillery was likewise augmented by a great number of field-pieces of different calibre, together with two mortars, which were cast in the Pyrenees.

All these happy results were owing to Zumalacarreguy, whose activity and perseverance have triumphed over difficulties which multiplied themselves on all hands. Our defensive system of warfare was now changed into the offensive: all our rencontres with the enemy had served to show him how much force and power the conviction of a good cause bestows on men opposed to those who have no consciousness of justice on their side; and how much moral influence is thereby produced on the mass of the people, who are always found to range themselves among the defenders of order against anarchy, of right against might, and of national liberty against the attacks of revolutionary despotism.

Two actions took place in the King's presence; his troops being commanded by Camp Marshal Eraso. I was fortunate enough to take a part in them.

The first affair occured at Lascano, a small town situated half a league from Villa Franca (Guipuscoa). I attacked with three hundred men, six

hundred Christinos, who had thrown themselves into this town; I put them to flight, sustaining, for nearly two hours, the fire of 1600 men under Jaureguy, who occupied positions more elevated. We surprised the estafette who was bearing a report of this action to the commander-in-chief of the Christinos. I, however, forwarded the dispatch, having first rectified several errors, from the pure love of truth. The reader will no doubt be glad to peruse this document, which so well exemplifies the imaginative nature of the Christino bulletins. (See the explanatory documents.)

The second affair took place before Plencia, in Biscay. Eleven hundred volunteers, after a fire of several hours, carried with the bayonet, under my orders, the highest positions in the environs of Andracas, defended by 1500 men, under the command of Espartero. These positions were twice taken and retaken: this combat, one of the most resolute, lasted four hours; but the enemy was at length routed and pursued as far as Plencia. At Madrid, they were grown tired of General Rodil; the continual checks he had sustained, without one victory to adduce in compensation, the recent defeat of Viana, all these disasters united, had destroyed the prestiges of success attached to

the name of that general, and it was determined to supersede him.

That able chieftain, Zumalacarreguy, understood well how to profit by the disorders necessarily occasioned by the retreat of Rodil. From this moment commenced the worst series of mishaps which have almost, without any variation, visited the arms of the Queen.

Our leader had, long before, projected an expedition into Castille: the disgrace of the Christino general appeared to present a favourable occasion.

On the 31st of October, in the morning, Zumalacarreguy passed the Ebro, near Tronnago, with a corps of guides, two battalions of Guipuscoa, the first and second of Navarre, and the regiment of lancers of the same province. Having learnt that Colonel Amor escorted a convoy composed of seven carriages, he turned towards Logrono, giving orders to his advanced guard to move by forced marches in that direction. Arrived at the village of Fuenmayor, he perceived the enemy upon the heights above it. Without hesitating, he put himself at the head of a squadron of cavalry, and a company of the third battalion of Navarre, and plunged into action. Amor had under his

orders two hundred horsemen, forming part of the regiment of Isabella, all picked soldiers, and a company of infantry of the royal guard. Zumalacarreguy counted but one hundred and twenty horses, and sixty foot soldiers; and, before these men, the rebel cavalry took flight, abandoning their convoy, while the infantry surrendered at discretion. It was always under difficult circumstances that the gallantry and conduct of Zumalacarreguy, shone most conspicuous, and danger only furnished him with opportunities to give his troops a proof of these qualities.

The enemy's cavalry, after having thus retired before forces scarce amounting to one half of their own, rallied at some distance upon the plain, and seemed about to provoke a fresh combat. Zumalacarreguy, his attention engrossed by the captures which he had made, nevertheless gave immediate orders to charge them again.

The Christinos, confident in their superior numbers, now made a spirited onslaught, and compelled the lancers of Navarre to retire. Furious at this reverse, the general flew to his men, put himself at their head, and vowed to lead them back to victory or death. The result of this oath was not long in manifesting itself: at the first shock, the Chris-

tinos dispersed, and fifty of them, among whom was an officer, paid the forfeit of their lives. Next day, after having disarmed the Urbanos of these districts, the royal troops crossed the river, now masters of more than two thousand firelocks, the greater part of which had formed a portion of Colonel Amor's convoy captured the preceding evening.

The days of the 27th and 28th October completed the disorganization of the Christinos. Having received advice that a column, commanded by Brigadier O'Doyle, was posted in observation at Alegria, a village of Alava, Zumalacarreguy resolved to surprise it by a secret march across the mountains. In a short space of time he found himself near Salvatierra. A few shots exchanged between his light troops and the garrison, sufficed to apprise the column which occupied Alegria, of the presence of the royal troops. Thus, as he had calculated on by this manœuvre, the action became immediate, and the rout of the Christinos was so prompt, that they had not time to make use of their artillery. At this moment, Iturralde, having under his orders the sixth battalion of Navarre, the third of Alava, and the second of Guipuscoa, made a movement in the rear of his enemies, thus succeeding in cutting off their retreat upon Vit-

toria, and placing them between two fires, in order that their destruction might be complete. Three hundred runaways escaped, however, and entrenched themselves in sundry houses in the village of Alegria; but the occasion of their safety was to be a new source of disaster to their party.

The result of this affair was 600 killed and 50 made prisoners, among whom were O'Doyle and a great many other officers, two pieces of artillery, the colours of the 6th regiment of the line, and a large quantity of arms and other military stores.

The 28th should ever be signalized as a day of glory for the royal family. General Osma had departed on the morning from Vittoria, at the head of a column of 3,000 men, to relieve the remnant which had escaped the rout of the preceding day, and which, being barricaded in the houses of Alegria, kept up a desperate resistance. At his approach, Zumalacarreguy quitted those whom he had been besieging, and hastened to meet General Osma. A very short period was sufficient to decide the victory; at the first onset, the Christinos commenced their retreat. In vain did their general, filled with shame and indignation at this defeat, strive to bring them back to the conflict: they fled with the utmost precipitation, dragging

him along with them as far as Vittoria, which place they entered in the greatest disorder. Hotly pursued by the Navarrese volunteers, numbers of them were made prisoners, and the whole line of road, until within reach of the cannon of the town, was strewed with their carcases. During the combat, the 300 Christinos barricaded in the houses of Alegria, seeing themselves relieved, hastened to seek refuge at Salvatierra.

Had the royalist cavalry charged upon the flying enemy, scarcely a signal man would have escaped, and all their artillery would have fallen into our power. Upwards of 600 Christinos were left upon the field of battle, and more than 400 were made prisoners. A great quantity of baggage, of arms, and other equipments of war, were also found upon the field of battle. Zumalacarreguy came on the 29th to render an account to the King of these two glorious days.

It was in consequence of these two victories that Zumalacarreguy received, from the hands of the King, the order of St. Ferdinand, together with the pension attached to that dignity. His Majesty with his own hands, passed round the general's neck the grand riband of the order.

General Ituralde, who had also highly distin-

guished himself in this affair, and powerfully contributed to its success, was nominated by the King, camp-marshal, in recompense of his courage and military talents; he received besides, the cross of commander of St. Ferdinand. This brave officer, full of merit and valour, had been second in command under Santos-Ladron, and after that general's death, took the chief command; organized the first battalion of Navarre, and at length gave way to Zumalacarreguy, of whom he was the worthy emulator and friend.

It was likewise at the close of this day that General Zumalacarreguy paid me, in presence of the King and all the officers surrounding him, a compliment extremely flattering to my contrymen in general. "All the French are brave," said he, "they distinguish themselves in every affair wherein they are engaged; they seek nothing but the attack."

This eulogium, from the mouth of a man so well qualified to form a judgment in such matters, every Frenchman, whatever may be his political opinions, should be proud to take part in. It may be truly said to constitute no exaggeration. The small number of French officers attached to the

cause of legitimacy in Spain, nobly sustained the high reputation which their comrades acquired in Portugal. Out of eighteen, six have already been stretched on the field of battle, and two wounded.

The consequences of these two days were immense. Besides the actual advantages derived from them by the cause of the King, they tended to prove throughout Europe, that the government of the usupation was no longer opposed merely to undisciplined bands, but to a regular army, which would henceforth bear the name of the royal army of Charles V, and be competent effectually to resist its enemies in every encounter.

Mina now came to replace Rodil, whose defeats and incapacity having occasioned his recal, they had named as his successor this celebrated chief of guerillas, who had acquired the very highest reputation during the war of independence, and now came to risk its loss by bearing arms against his legitimate sovereign, and exhibiting to Europe nothing but a humiliating spectacle of his weakness, infirmities, indecision, and severity.

For the instruction both of nations and their governments, it will not be superfluous to introduce the proclamation of this chieftain, at the moment

when he came to take possession of the vice-royalty of Navarre, and compare it with that of Charles V after the days of the 27th and 28th of October.

The King of all Spain and its dependencies expresses himself in these terms: "Constant in my sentiments of humanity, and resolved to spare Spanish blood as much as I am able to do during this war, necessarily undertaken to recover the throne usurped by rebellion, I hasten to set free from all retributive, and indeed from capital punishment, all the soldiers fallen into the power of my army in the glorious days of the 27th and 28th of the present month. The chief of my general staff will designate the several corps to which all those may be admitted who testify a desire to join my standard."

The vice-roy of Navarre, Mina, thus terminates *his* proclamation to the inhabitants of that country: "Meanwhile, I forewarn you that every individual who shall be found out of the King's high-way, between sunrise and sunset, without adducing sufficient reason, shall be *shot*."

How consolatory is it, to find oneself in adherence to a cause which presents such noble contrasts to the acts of its opponent. One is delighted at

seeing a King bestow pardon upon his enemies after victory, whilst a general of the usurpation fulminates death against unoffending peasants.

The arrival of Mina in Navarre produced no result. This general had indeed been indebted for the successes which he had formerly obtained, to these very Navarrese whom he now came to combat, and to whom alone could revert the glory acquired twenty-five years before. Then he fought for the liberties of his country, now he came into Navarre to endeavour to stifle them. This conduct only excited indignation; he remained isolated in the midst of the entire population, which burned with fury to see a Navarrese bring war and devastation into the bosom of his native country. We apprehended not his success; we only feared to see him renew in 1835, the horrors with which he overwhelmed Catalonia in 1820.

Upon his arrival, he developed at once the sternness of his character, in saying: "That he came to wage war against the inhabitants, and not against soldiers;" and he kept his word. His military operations have been confined to escorting convoys. He assisted but at one petty skirmish, leaving his lieutenants to take part in several rencontres, principally at Arquijas, where General Cordova's

column underwent so signal a defeat. The order which he gave to fire the village of Lescaroz, under a pretext that the carlists had taken refuge there, together with that of shooting one in every five of the inhabitants, gives the measure of his character. He who once valued himself so highly upon his patriotism, and his celebrity, has forfeited his claim to that reputation, and has adopted a line of policy which his warmest friends must regret.

Mina, then came to take possession of the vice-royalty of Navarre, and the command of the Queen's forces. He flattered himself that he could subdue the Navarrese, his compatriots—he who, under other circumstances, had so often conducted them to victory. Meanwhile, Zumalacarreguy advanced towards his aim. Already the Christinos no longer held the open country, and it was necessary to attack them in their entrenchments. Apprised that Lopez occupied, with his division, Sesma, a village of Ribera, he repaired thither with his cavalry and several battalions of infantry to give him battle. The Christino general found that it was more prudent for him to barricade himself within the town; the evening

passed in exchanging some discharges of cannon.

This day was, for the French officers who had embarked in the royal cause, one of disaster and regret. One of them underwent the punishment to which the council of war of his own country had, two years previously, condemned him. During the insurrection of La Vendée, in 1832, Aubert had not disregarded the appeal made to his honour, but was one of the forty who immortalised themselves in the château of La Pénissière. His recompense was a sentence of death. Compelled to fly his country, he entered the service of Charles V. Before the attack on Sesma, a rencontre took place in view of that village between a party of Lopez's cavalry and the escort of the carlist quarter-master-general. Consulting nothing but his courage, he plunged headlong into the pursuit of the enemy. Being an infantry officer, Aubert was no horseman; in the action his steed became unmanageable, and eventually bore him into the middle of the Christino squadrons. Taken prisoner, it was still at his option to escape death. A single cry of "Long live the Queen!" would have sufficed. In fact, he was urged to become a

deserter, but preferred death to dishonour, and resolved to show himself, to the last moment, worthy of the name of a Vendean. Next day, a priest and several soldiers entered the place where he was confined; he perceived that he was about to die, but his courage deserted him not. The words which he pronounced in the presence of immediate death, were these, as reported by ocular witnesses:—"In France I would have given up my life for Henry V; here, I owe it to Charles V. Long live the King!" Such were his last words. After the departure of the Christinos, the inhabitants rendered him funeral honours, and his body was deposited in the church, where to this day numerous persons pray over his tomb.

Ever since the arrival of Mina, Zumalacarreguy sought occasions of measuring himself with this redoubted chief. A victory gained over so illustrious a guerilla leader, who, in other times, had fairly astonished, by his exploits, the people of these regions, was naturally a great object of the desire and ambition of the carlist general. But Mina afforded him not this satisfaction; shut up in Pampeluna, his achievements were confined to issuing orders to his lieutenants, touching the escort of convoys, and never did he risk his reputation in a battle.

Nevertheless, the united divisions of Cordova, Oraa and Lopez, encountered a new check on the memorable day of the 15th December.

On the 12th of that month, certain battalions united in the plain situated between Piedra-Millesa and Lasarte, had drawn the attention of the Christino generals who occupied Arcos and Estella. After having experienced great losses, the royalist battalions retreated, fighting, in the direction of Zuniga, before forces too much superior to be encountered with any chance of success. The rain, which had not ceased to pour during the 13th and 14th, prevented new engagements. On the morning of the 15th, the troops of the usurper, commanded by Cordova, were put in march towards Zuniga, at half a league from which village stands the famous bridge of Arquijas, about to be so fatal to the forces of the Queen. Here Zumalacarreguy awaited them. About the middle of the day, some gun-shots exchanged between the several advanced posts, announced the movement of the enemy; and, an hour after, the division of Cordova had formed itself in order of battle near the hermitage of Arquijas, which commands the torrent close to the bridge. A battery of artillery was stationed at this point to

protect the passage of the troops, and, shortly after, a column, composed of *carabinieros* and *peseteros*, all picked men, put themselves in motion to attempt the passage. The fourth battalion of Navarre, to which was confided the custody of the bridge, lost not, upon this occasion, the reputation it had previously obtained. In vain, protected by their artillery, did the Christinos essay to force the passage—they could not succeed, in spite of the support given them by fresh columns. A few of the most adventurous succeeded, with great trouble, in gaining the opposite bank; but soon the bridge was covered with carcases, and, despite all their efforts, they could not advance a step further. Perceiving the impossibility of advancing, Cordova conceived a plan which was calculated to be fatal to the royal troops, had they been commanded by a less skilful general. Whilst, in person, after having concentrated all his division, he attempted the passage at another point, he gave orders to Oraa, to get, by a concealed march, into the rear of the royalists, and to Lopez, to feign a similar movement on the side of Santa Cruz, hoping, by these manœuvres, to distract the attention of his adversary. The idea was good, but Zumalaçarreguy had penetrated it.

The division of Ituralde, which formed his advanced guard, had not yet taken part in the conflict; he ordered it, therefore, to betake itself, with all possible speed, to encounter this new enemy. Cordova, after having sustained great losses, retired in disorder in the direction of La Sarta, abandoning the division, which found itself opposed to Ituralde, in the the vale of Lana. Zumalacarreguy was not slow in profiting by this flight; leaving only two or three battalions in observation on this side, he hastily marched to the succour of Ituralde, whom the superior numbers of the enemy had already compelled to retreat. It would have been all over with the division of Oraa, had not night come on, and covered his retreat. This unexpected reinforcement had thrown the Christinos into disorder, and the short time which the combat lasted sufficed to expose them to very severe losses. According to the reports of the country people, the rebels had not less than a thousand men wounded; and the number of dead, namely, three hundred left by them upon the field of battle, gives probability to their statement. Since the commencement of the war, indeed, no affair has presented so serious a character as this. There remained, at length, upon the field but a few disputants on either side,

who successively rent the air with the war-cry of Long live the Queen! Long live the King! And, on the part of the enemy, these were the remains of three divisions, which, united, had found themselves repulsed by a body of volunteers, numerically far inferior.

The forces of the Christino generals could not have been under 10,000 men, while those of Charles V, composed of ten battalions, could present an effective body of only 6,000. The inaptitude of the season now rendered it necessary to suspend operations until the return of spring. The Christinos had fled into their garrisons, and Zumalacarreguy gained the Amescoas: but repose ill assorted with the spirit of this illustrious general: when the enemy slept, he only exhibited a greater degree of activity and enterprize; and fifteen days had scarcely elapsed during his sojourn in the Amescoas, before he bitterly regretted the time thus wasted in inaction. Without caring that the melting of the snows had rendered the roads impracticable, he put himself in march at the head of some chosen battalions, traversed the province of Guipuscoa, routed Generals Pastor and Iriarte, who had opposed his progress, and fell suddenly

upon Bastan. The chief aim of Zumalacarreguy was to surprise Mina; who, at the head of 4,000 men, had repaired to the frontier to escort a convoy destined to provision Pampeluna; but the viceroy was careful not to be imprudently adventurous in the mountains, he had given orders to his lieutenants to march in this direction in order to protect him in case of need. In presence of troops so numerous, it would have been the height of rashness to hazard a battle; the royal troops therefore contented themselves with harassing the enemy, which they did up to the very gates of Pampeluna, where the convoy arrived a few days after.

On the 5th of February another affair took place on the bridge of Arguyas. General Lorenzo, who, since the commencement of the war, had not quitted Navarre, and who was above all things conspicuous for his cruelties, was desirous of avenging the defeat sustained by Cordova at that place some time before. His dispositions were the same as those of his colleague, but his fortune was not a whit better. In an intercepted letter, written by him on the eve of the battle to Mina, Lorenzo promised him that he would bring

matters to a conclusion with the rabble. "If they await me," said he, "I will give a day of glory to the arms of her Majesty."

The next morning Zumalacarreguy, at the head of nine battalions only, convinced this braggart that victory depended neither on numbers nor bravado, but solely on true courage. The royalists, composed of six battalions, occupied the valley situated near Los Arcos, between Nassa, Piedra-Millera, and La Sarta. Lorenzo having under his command Generals Lopez and Oraa, had passed the night at Los Arcos. Zumalacarreguy, aware of the enemy's presence in that town, had sent orders for the three remaining battalions to join and augment the number of his forces. On the following day, February 5th, Lorenzo, at the head of 10,000 men, presented himself in the plain of La Sarta, where he was surprised to find an enemy to fight him. Towards the middle of the day he arrived upon the heights of Arquijas, where Zamalacarreguy awaited him; after Lorenzo had vainly attempted to force a passage by the bridge, the action spread over all the heights and in the adjoining wood; it became general; foot to foot, the ground was disputed, and night found the two armies in the same positions. Lorenzo, overcome with

fatigue, declined, next morning, to renew the contest. He re-entered Los Arcos, bringing three or four hundred of his wounded, the only trophies of the victory which he had promised.

Los Arcos, situated at the entrance of La Ribera, had long served as a refuge for the Christinos, and its walls had often preserved them from disaster. Some pieces of artillery, cast in the Bastan, and arrived a few days before, were tried against these walls. On the evening of the 22d February, the royal troops penetrated into the interior of the town, and on the morning of the 23d began an attack on the barracks, and on six houses strongly defended by 500 Christinos. Whilst the artillery battered the walls, and effected a breach, our volunteers, full of ardour, pushed into the place, and possessed themselves of positions, abandoned one by one by the Christinos, though not till after they had endeavoured with the utmost fury to defend them.

By nightfall five of the fortified houses had become occupied by the assailants ; in one of these were found 130 of those wounded in the affair that had taken place at Arquijas eighteen days before. Not wishing to lose his chance, Zumalacarreguy invested the fortress during the nights, it being the only spot still defended, and

wherein the greatest part of the Christinos had taken refuge. He caused to be brought into the passes large heaps of straw, mixed with red pimento, proposing next morning to fire the place if it refused to surrender.*

Zumalacarreguy had no reason to have recourse to this formidable method of attack—the Christinos having profited by the obscurity of night to retire; they were likewise favoured in their flight by the rain, which fell in torrents, and thus effecting their escape by one of the gates of the town, they directed their march upon Lerin.

We scoured the country on all sides in pursuit of the enemy, and succeeded in taking many prisoners; their number, comprising the wounded, reached 250; among whom was a colonel and several officers. Charles V, who was at Zuniga, entered the next day into Los Arcos, amidst acclamations of public joy.

His arrival in this town was signalised by an act of clemency. All the prisoners, according to the law

* The smoke of the red pimento (a very common fruit in Navarre,) is so stifling and insupportable, that those who are exposed to its effects have always preferred their destruction to suffering so horrible. During the war of independence, Mina frequently had recourse to this cruel agent against the French garrisons.

of reprisals, should have been subjected to military execution; but the King extended pardon to them, giving orders in addition, that the sick and wounded should be attended to in the same way as those of his own army.*

Echarri-Arenas is a village situated at the branching of the roads from Vittoria and Tolosa to Pampeluna. The Christinos had not overlooked this important position: three hundred and fifty men of the regiment of Valladolid, with a detachment of cavalry and artillerymen, composed its

* Whilst Zumalacarreguy, in the name of the King, gave to his enemies an example of generous humanity, it is worthy of remark that Mina signalised his presence in the Bastan, by acts directly the reverse. In a proclamation dated from Narbale, on the 14th of March, he speaks in these terms to the inhabitants of Navarre, whom, in his quality of viceroy, he had come to protect. "The village of Lecaroz has, up to this time, secreted arms and ammunition for the factious. Its inhabitants have refused to conform to the orders that I had issued to them, of rendering intelligence to the legitimate authorities of the movements of the enemy. Lecaroz has been this day committed to the flames, and one in every five of its inhabitants have been shot, in expiation of their crime. The same fate is reserved for all communities and for every individual following the example of Lecaroz, and by force of arms I shall put an end to a criminal rebellion. If you hasten to reunite yourselves to me, I shall then be disposed to pardon." etc. Read and judge!

garrison. Whilst Mina with difficulty regained Pampeluna, whither he went to escort a convoy from the frontier, Zumalacarreguy, at the distance of a few leagues, effected a breach in the fortress of Echarri-Arenas. For four days, the garrison repelled the attacks of the volunteers, and shut up within an enclosure of impenetrable walls, seemed determined to perpetuate a desperate resistance. On the morning of the 19th, however, having received none of the succours which it expected, and seeing itself pressed on all sides without hope of redemption, it surrendered at discretion. One eight, and two four-pounders, with a great quantity of firelocks and ammunition, were taken in this fort.

Mina, ashamed of so many defeats, by which his military reputation was so gravely compromised, in the very country where he had formerly so well merited it by his success, gave in his resignation, hiding, however, his feelings of shame, under the pretext of ill health. He was replaced by General Valdez, then minister of war, who feared not returning to a command which he had been forced, eighteen months before, to abandon. The formidable reinforcements which he brought with him, could not save him from sharing the lot of his predecessor. Previous to quitting Vittoria, in

order to measure his arms a second time against his formidable adversary, he published an order of the day, several passages of which prove that the spirit of moderation which had influenced him during his first campaign, no longer preserved its sway.

The first idea of Valdez, on replacing General Mina, had been to repair to the Amescoas, in order to continue, so to speak, the operations he had commenced when superseded by Quesada. It was at Contrasta that he had quitted the command, and it was at Contrasta he meant to resume his operations. He assembled twenty thousand men, and supported by Generals Cordova and Aldama, advanced towards the Amescoas. Zumalacarreguy was at Eulate with four battalions; four others were distributed at different distances, and in divers directions. On the 20th of April, at four o'clock, P. M., Valdez left Contrasta at the head of sixteen thousand men. The united force of Zumalacarreguy scarcely amounted to three thousand; but the ability of their leader supplied the deficiency of numbers: he steadily awaited his foe, his columns extending to Aranarchi and Larrasua. The two armies, encamped in each other's presence, thus spent the night. On the morning of the 21st, the enemy marched upon Eulate; Zumalacarreguy

guarding his positions, and made a movement with one battalion in the rear of the village of St. Martin. In the course of the night he was reinforced by the first, second, sixth, and tenth of Navarre with admirable order and precision. Zumalacarreguy had then ten battalions, and Valdez more than thirty. After sundry evolutions, it became apparent that the major part of the enemy's forces were directed towards Eulate. The firing commenced about ten o'clock, A. M., but Valdez soon declined the combat, and retired near to La Vesta d'Urbasa.

On the 22nd, the carlists retook their positions, which were surrounded by almost the whole of the enemy's squadrons. It was here that Rodil had been defeated on the 31st of the previous August. Valdez decided on passing by the defile of Artaza; but precautions were taken to prevent him. He lost numbers of his men, and was forced to commence a retrograde movement upon Estella. During this retreat, the troops of the King conducted themselves with so much bravery and promptitude, that the enemy, harassed and annoyed on all sides, began to show symptoms of demoralization, and the retreat rapidly grew into a complete route through a league and a half of country, the earth being

strewed with their dead, and their wounded left to the care of the carlists. The advanced guard, with Valdez, hastened to throw itself into Estella. Aldama, who commanded the centre, followed the general-in-chief, after sustaining considerable losses. Cordova, with the rear-guard did not reach Arbazuza with more than the wreck of his crushed battalions. Zumalacarreguy and his troops went to repose after their glorious fatigues, in the villages of Lower Amescoas, and the valley of Allia. On the 23rd and 24th, the royal army profited by the terror of the enemy to scour the mountains, wherein they made a considerable number of prisoners, and seized, despite all the efforts of Valdez, twelve waggon loads of ammunition, together with all the arms and baggage that had been left upon the field of battle. The booty was in fact immense; and one might safely calculate, that those days had cost the enemy a loss of two thousand killed, and a great number of wounded, six hundred prisoners, three thousand five hundred muskets, a considerable quantity of cloaks, and other military equipments, and more than three hundred horses and mules. It was in short the most brilliant affair that had occurred since the commencement of the campaign. Valdez, beaten in the Amescoas, betook himself, a few days after,

to Biscay, where his lieutenant Iriarte suffered likewise a complete defeat.

Brigadier Don Juan Manuel Sarasa laid himself out to attack the column of Iriarte, 2,300 men strong. The bad weather hindered him from putting his plan into execution, and he was compelled to retire to Guernica with his division, composed of the first, second, fifth, and sixth battalions, three select companies, and fifty lancers, leaving the fifth battalion in reserve at Luno.

Benito Iriarte, encouraged by the proximity of his garrison, presented himself, vigorously attacked the town, and penetrated even into the streets; but the commandant-general of Guipuscoa, in spite of the bad weather, arrived in the rear of the enemy with two battalions. The action then became terrible; and Iriarte's troops at length fled, after a heavy loss, leaving two pieces of cannon, four hundred killed, and a great number of wounded. He took the route of Lequetio, whilst his lieutenant, Bascaran, shut himself up, with several officers and two hundred soldiers within the walls of a convent.

This check greatly irritated the Christino general, who returned soon after with superior forces, delivered his lieutenant, Bascaran, and then threw himself into Guernica, at that time undefended.

He avenged himself upon the inhabitants, reducing the town to ashes; and caused upon a part of the ruins this inscription to be placed—an inscription worthy of the times of barbarism, or perhaps rather of the "reign of terror," in 1793—"Here was Guernica."

He also set fire to the palace of the states of Biscay, situated at a short distance from the town, and near the old oak under which the former Kings of the country had been wont to vow the preservation of the *fueros*, or franchises of the seigniory of Biscay. In 1476, Ferdinand and Isabella, after having heard mass in the Church of Santa Maria de la Antigua, repaired underneath this revered tree to swear to the maintenance of the Biscayan laws.

In 1834, in the month of September, Charles V, accompanied by all his brave generals, by a deputation from Biscay, and by the principal inhabitants of Guernica, went through the same ceremony, and acquired by this act (demonstrative of his respect for the established and sacred laws of the country) a fresh claim to the veneration which its population has already conceived for their sovereign.*

* It was also under the oak of Guernica that the crimes of felony and of treason were judged: and hither, likewise, they repaired every two years to vote at the epoch of the elections. Guer-

This seems a proper place for saying a few words respecting a diplomatic negociation, equally important in itself, and as occupying, during two months, the attention of nearly all the journals of Europe :—let us advert to the mission of Lord Elliot.

The tory ministry, which succeeded for so short a time to power a few months ago, and whose politics were not always in accordance with the avowed principles of that party, which under Pitt and Castlereagh, had caused the glory and prosperity of England, excited a good deal of regret at their unexpected conduct. Monarchical Europe heard with astonishment the chief of that cabinet avow, in full parliament, his sympathy and respect for the treaty of the quadruple alliance, a work of English radicalism, which the whigs themselves had signed with repugnance, and in the spirit of a base compliance with the revolutionary politics of the Palais Royal.

Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington suffered for a moment the ancient feeling of affection for Spain to revive in their hearts, and in order to cover in the best possible way the position they had taken, they strove to reassure the great

nica is a small town five leagues from Bilboa, with two hundred and four houses, and about a thousand inhabitants.

powers of the north respecting their politics, by exhibiting a testimony of the touching interest inspired in them by the misfortunes of the people of Navarre, and of the other provinces of the theatre of war.

From a sentiment of humanity, the English ministry charged Lord Elliot and Colonel Gurwood* with a mission to Charles V, and to the general-in-chief of the Christino troops. This mission had for its ostensible object the mediation of the English government, who were desirous of putting an end to the exterminating character of the war, since the generals of the usurpation had, by their cruelties, compelled the officers of the King to pursue a system of reprisals. But it was believed that the secret aim of the mission was to propose, to the two parties, means of conciliation calculated to produce an arrangement of the peninsula affairs, and a consequent cessation of bloodshed. The profound wisdom and great magnanimity of Charles V, induced him to reject these offers, and Lord Elliot's

* The choice of these two colonels was a noble proceeding on the part of the English ministry. Lord Elliot was known to sympathize in the cause of Charles V, and Colonel Gurwood had not ceased, during the residence of the royal family at Portsmouth, to lavish upon them the most delicate and respectful attention.

mission was consequently limited to a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, a copy of which will be found among the explanatory documents at the end of the volume. This negociation was remarkable for the implied recognition of the title of King of Spain, which the quadruple alliance was compelled to accord to Don Carlos, by the very act of treating with his generals on the same footing as with those of Christina; there was, it is true, a ridiculous claim to *precedence* set up on the other side, and originating with General Cordova, but this was the sole opposition made to the principle of recognition.

We have given merely a rapid and succinct view of the operations of the army of Navarre since his Majesty's arrival. It is worthy of remark that the presence of this prince, at the head of his brave army, had doubled its enthusiasm, and that the most brilliant of its operations had taken place under the eyes of the sovereign.

The return of Charles V into his dominions is indeed one of the greatest events of the existing epoch, and one calculated to be the most fruitful in great results. The situation of the army at the present moment, so formidable against all the forces of the usurpation, cannot be at all compared with what it was a year ago, before his Majesty's

arrival. Previous to that epoch, it was in fact such, that, as we have before hinted, had the King delayed one month longer, he might have found his chance entirely frustrated.

Far was the writer from imagining, at the time when he began these Memoirs, in which the striking character of Zumalacarreguy occupies so prominent a place, that he should, ere they were concluded, have to deplore that hero's death, and to pay a final homage of admiration to his noble courage, his rare capacity, his intrepid genius, and heroic fidelity. Zumalacarreguy is one of the noblest victims of the quadruple alliance: it was an English ball by which he fell, and Spain has not, at least, to reproach herself with the death of one of her worthiest sons.

Zumalacarreguy was of the province of Guipuscoa, a country pregnant with great men and great deeds. He was the friend of Eraso and of Ituralde, who live to replace and imitate him, and who have inherited the confidence with which he inspired the army.

In order to appreciate the heroism and talent of Zumalacarreguy, it is necessary to review all that he accomplished before the King's arrival, the prodigious efforts and unheard-of sacrifices he

made to struggle against the numerous and disciplined corps of the usurpation, to which he could oppose nothing but a handful of brave men, with no arms, save what they had taken from the enemy, no resources but what their own valour created.

It is necessary, we repeat it, to consider this royal army, when it wanted every thing, when its men were without ammunition, without money, without clothes, without shoes,—traversing the mountains, living upon the rocky heights, passing whole nights without the slightest shelter, and often in the midst of continual marches and alarms. Their days were spent in combatting, always with advantage, regular troops, well fed and well paid; they supplied want of numbers by valour and devotion; following throughout the example of their officers, always the foremost to brave fatigues and support privations. All this was presided over by the genius of Zumalacarreguy, who combined, amidst the roughness and tumult of his bivouacs, that admirable plan of campaign which has triumphed over five hostile generals, successively reducing them to the necessity of avowing their incapacity to make head against so formidable an adversary.

The death of Zumalacarreguy is not the only

event calculated to give a tone of sorrow to the close of our recital. The tomb has opened, now nearly a year for a princess entitled to our eternal regrets by the eminence of her character, the goodness of her heart, and the sublimity of her resignation amidst her royal misfortunes. We were unwilling to interrupt the progress of the military events of the army of Navarre with an account of the death of the noble consort of Charles V; we have therefore taken some liberty with the order of dates, that we should have nothing left to interfere with our account of the last moments of Donna Francisca d'Assis, Infanta of Portugal and Queen of Spain.

CHAPTER XIII.

Death of the Queen.

Amidst the various solicitudes which engrossed all the moments of Charles V, an event occurred the most cruel that could afflict his heart — I allude to the death of the Queen. It was at Eulate, a little village of Navarre, that he received the melancholy intelligence, of which, indeed, he appeared to have had a mournful presentiment. He had several times said to the faithful servants who surrounded him, that he feared the Queen was no more, but that her death was kept secret from him; and thus he suffered the anguish of this loss before it had really visited him.

On the 4th of September, after several days' endurance of a bilious fever, Donna Maria Francisca, wife of Charles V, sank beneath her malady. She died at Alverstock, near Portsmouth, where

she had taken up her residence since the departure of the King for Spain. Her health had previously been destroyed by continual anxiety, occasioned by the perilous situation of her august spouse. Notwithstanding, however, her sense of his danger, and the strength of her devotion to him, so well did she penetrate the extent of his royal duties, that she never endeavoured to shake his resolution. If, a thing impossible, Charles V had needed encouragement in undertaking his great enterprise, he would have found powerful and heroic counsel emanating from the noble spirit of his consort, and that of his sister, the Princess of Beira. A christian Queen and a tender mother, the double duties resulting from her position occupied the heart of Maria Francisca, to the necessary exclusion of almost every other sentiment. All those duties were worthily fulfilled, but she sank under them: her ardent soul also rose above surrounding perils, but she fell a victim to the agonies of suspense.

The confirmation of this news was a dreadful blow to Charles V; indeed, he would not have had strength to support it, but for the consolations he derived from religion, and a sense of his obligations as a father and a King.

Among the causes of the death of the Queen of Spain, must be placed, in the first rank, the novel sufferings and privations of every kind she had been called on to support, with all her family, during their sojourn in Portugal. Obliged to fly, often on foot, before a deceived and furious soldiery, through impoverished countries, and over roads scarcely passable; these august fugitives more than once suffered the severest hunger, and frequently sought in vain a shelter for their heads. Towards the end of November, at Miranda del Duero, she was compelled to lodge in a ruined house, whose windows were destitute of glass. I one day saw this princess, the daughter, sister and wife of Kings, employed in tacking together some shreds of coarse stuff, in order to make rude curtains to shield her from the inclemencies of wind and cold; and, having expressed my grief at beholding her under circumstances so painful, she answered me in these noble words:

"I am ready to support the most cruel privations rather than tamper with my duties as a mother and a Queen."

An event which contributed greatly to undermine her health, was the chagrin she experienced when apprised of the odious treatment of which her

faithful servants, unavoidably left behind at Aldea-Gallega, had been the victims. The horrible condition to which these unfortunate Spaniards were reduced, after escaping the poniards of Portuguese assassins, sensibly touched her heart. On their way from Lisbon to Portsmouth, and from Portsmouth to Hamburg, without being able to find an asylum anywhere, they became a prey to all kinds of privations: on returning again to England, the horror of their disastrous circumstances was increased. The Queen and the Princess of Beira, without delay, parted with the few jewels they still possessed, distributing the proceeds among these unfortunate men: but such feeble resources were soon exhausted, and the hapless Queen could no longer stem the torrent of these dire misfortunes.

The Queen of Spain was a woman distinguished by her understanding and her tenderness of heart. She kept a journal of the most remarkable events that had happened, either to herself or her family, including the persecutions she had undergone since her arrival in Portugal—that country where she was born, and which she had quitted, whilst very young, to follow the King, John VI, when that monarch sought refuge in Brazil. It was from thence that this princess passed into Spain

with Donna Maria Isabella, betrothed to the late King Ferdinand VII, whilst she herself was about to espouse the Infant Don Carlos, at that time heir presumptive to the throne of Spain.

The deceased Queen was a woman possessed of great courage. It is almost without example that she never suffered the slightest mark of fear to escape her. During the revolution of 1820, her apartments became the refuge of the zealous servants of the King. After the affair of the 7th of July 1822, eleven officers of the guard, pursued by an infuriated populace, sought refuge in the apartments of the palace: the deceased Queen solicited of Ferdinand VII, his authority to conceal them in her apartments; and, to induce the King to give his consent, she remarked that herself alone would be compromised in case of the circumstance being discovered. She concealed them in a chamber of which she held the key, and during the eight hours they passed in this apartment, the princess herself furnished them with provisions: at length, she procured them the means of repairing to a foreign country.*

* Among these eleven officers was this same Cordova, of whom we have already spoken, and who at present commands one of the divisions of the revolutionary army.

She kept up a correspondence with Louis XVIII during the whole period of the government of the Cortes. That prince, indeed, had conceived the highest opinion of her character and mind. Had the Queen lived, she would probably have published her Memoirs, which could not have failed to excite the liveliest interest, and to produce throughout Europe a strong sensation.

During her malady, the Queen had constantly around her bed, her august sister, the Princess of Beira, and her three children, who ceased not to lavish on her the most touching and tender care, and who quitted not her pillow till within a few moments of her drawing the last breath. It then needed force to drag them away. The Princess of Beira fell into fearful convulsions, which for a time placed her life in danger.

On the first symptoms of the Queen's malady, the Bishop of Leon, who resided in London, had repaired to Portsmouth, and never quitted the sick bed of his royal mistress. This worthy prelate communicated to her the consolations of religion, administered the last sacraments, and received her latest wishes in the form of a testament. The departing Queen could not console herself, for not being allowed to die in Spain near her husband, to

whom she wrote a few lines by way of adieu. In this touching billet, she requested his pardon for any uneasiness she might involuntarily have occasioned him, and recommended herself to his prayers.

This painful duty fulfilled, she resigned herself to her fate, and witnessed the approach of her last hour with remarkable calmness and serenity. She died, in short, as she had lived; her end was equally beautiful, equally noble, as her life. Before she expired, she summoned around her bed all the officers of her household, and took leave of each in terms the most affectionate and moving. To every one she left a token of her regard. Thus died, at the age of thirty-four years, upon English ground, not the first, but the most illustrious victim of the quadruple alliance.

The nobility, and all the upper ranks of Portsmouth and its neighbourhood, manifested the most delicate attentions towards the royal family. Admiral Sir Thomas Williams and General Sir Thomas M'Mahon, paid visits to the Princess of Beira, offering to her royal highness their compliments of condolence, together with those of the government. The admiral announced to the princess that he had received a letter from the Duke of Sussex,

who expressed the sincere sympathy he felt in her royal highness's grief, and his regret at not being able in person to assure her of it. He added, that he should never forget the considerate attentions which the family of Braganza had lavished upon him when at Lisbon. The officers of the garrison also paid their tribute of respect, and the ladies likewise sent an address of condolence to the princess. The admiral informed her royal highness of the honours which the government purposed paying to the lamented Queen.

On the day of the funeral, the ships of war in the harbour all bore half-mast high the Spanish flag. The batteries displayed the same emblem; and at each quarter of an hour, salvoes of artillery were fired, to mark the time from the moment of the corpse quitting the mansion to the close of the ceremony. A guard of honour was dispatched to meet the body at the house of death, and was relieved at the chapel by another detachment. It was at nine o'clock on Tuesday, the 16th of September, that the interment took place at the chapel at Gosport. The body was followed by every individual belonging to the household of the King. Her Majesty's mortal remains were deposited in the Catholic Chapel of Gosport, awaiting the mo-

ment when they may be removed into the church of a monastery which the princess had founded in the environs of the kingdom of Valencia.

EPITAPHE DE LA REINE D'ESPAGNE.

Maria-Francisca Assis, regali ex progenie Braganza et Borbon,
Joannis VI, Lusitaniæ fidelissimi filia regis,
Caroli V, Hispaniarum quoque regis conjux amantissima,
Sancti Francisci a Sales monialium fundatrix regalis monasteri,
Civitatis Oriolensis pia et religiosa,
Pridie nonas septembris anni millesimi octingentesimi
Trigesimi quarti,
Ætatis suæ incæpto trigessimo quinto
Alverstokii parvo Magnæ-Britanniæ oppido,
Obdormivit in Domino.
R. I. P.

Maria-Françisca d'Assis, of the Royal Families of Braganza and of Bourbon, daughter of John VI, the most faithful King of Portugal, and well-beloved spouse of Charles V, King of Spain; the pious and devout founder of the royal monastery of Nuns of St. Francis of Sales, in the town of Orihuela. She fell asleep in the Lord, on the 4th of September in the year 1834, in the 35th year of her age, at Alverstock, a small town of Great Britain.

May she rest in Peace!

M. de Teijeiro, one of the chamberlains of the young Princes* was selected by the Princess of

* Don Jose Teijeiro, descended from one of the most distinguished

Beira to bear to the King the afflicting news of the death of his spouse. Her choice could not have fallen upon a more devoted servant, or one more worthy of so high and grave a mission.

M. de Teijeiro wrote to Lord Palmerston, to obtain a passport: but that minister refused to for-

families in Galicia, where honour and fidelity are hereditary, commenced the career of arms in 1808, and obtained, in 1824, the rank of commandant. It was at that period that the King appointed him to the service of his sons in quality of chamberlain. He was one of the officers who most distinguished themselves on the 7th July, 1822. He was arrested at the same time with the brave De Goiffieux, and thrown into the same prison—but more fortunate than he, he escaped death. At the epoch of Don Carlos' departure for Portugal, he hesitated not to abandon his wife, then labouring under a serious illness, and his numerous family, and to accompany his prince into exile—although he knew that this resolution would occasion him the loss of his rank and pay as a colonel, the only resource of his family. M. Teijeiro is, in a word, one of the noblest types of devotedness and honour. The care which he has bestowed on the royal children, the excellent advices he has given them, his profound knowledge, and the firmness of his character, make it matter of regret that he should have been obliged to separate from his charge, for it will be difficult to replace him. The Prince of Asturias was greatly attached to Don Jose. His counsels will, however, not be less valuable to the King, who will also, no doubt, profit by his military talents, and confide to him the elevated post which he is so worthy to occupy.

ward one, and requested the French chargé d'affaires to reply to the demand. This functionary granted the desired passport; but upon the express condition that, on his arrival at Paris, M. de Teijeiro should present himself before the minister of the interior. This brave officer was the bearer of letters from the Princess of Beira, the Infants, the Bishop of Leon, and several of the servants of the late Queen—also, of a copy of her will.

Scarcely had he landed at Calais, when they took from him his despatches, which were not restored till two days after his arrival at Paris. The black cabinet had thus time to take copies. They made him wait for his passport during two days, and in short, he encountered all kinds of vexation. The sub-prefect of Bayonne carried his forgetfulness of propriety so far, as to cause a domiciliary visit to be made to the hotel where M. de Teijeiro had alighted, and all his letters were carried off with the exception of those of the royal family: among the abstracted papers, were letters of the Bishop of Leon, of the King's confessor, and of several servants of the Queen. In vain did he protest against so flagrant an abuse of authority, so odious a violation of the rights of the people: the sub-prefect replied, "That he was obliged to conform to

the orders which he had received from the minister of the interior." These letters were not restored till fifteen days after.

The 4th of October, M. de Teijeiro rejoined the King at Enguy: at sight of this faithful servant, Charles V felt all his grief revive: they were closeted together nearly four hours, the King overwhelming him with questions, and eager to learn the slightest circumstances attending the death of a spouse to whom he had owed the only happy moments with which his life had been blessed, and who had given him throughout fifteen years the most touching proofs of love and attachment. The details afforded his Majesty by M. de Teijeiro proved in the highest degree consoling to him. He also questioned him much respecting his children. M. de Teijeiro apprised him that the death of his mother had occasioned profound grief to the Prince of Asturias, and led to his serious indisposition; but that religion had at length calmed his sorrow, inspiring him with a holy resignation, which had tended to improve his health. The young prince had charged M. de Teijeiro to request from his father permission to share his perils. But high considerations prevented the King from yielding to the prince's

wish. The Infants had found in their aunt, the Princess of Beira, a second mother, whose feeling for their bereaved condition had increased her tenderness for them. The King, from this moment, kept up a correspondence with the princess. He lost no time in giving the sanction of his approbation to the plan of education which her royal highness has adopted for his sons. The objects of so much care, and possessing the most happy dispositions, these young princes will have received an education worthy of the high rank they will one day occupy in Spain.

The narrative I have thus presented, in which I have not sacrificed truth to any party feeling, will afford an exact idea of the situation of Spain in the presence of her King. I have given but the first chapter of the history of Charles V; the future appertains to this prince, and providence will impart to him, let us not doubt it, the power necessary to issue triumphantly from the struggle which he has been sustaining these three years against the revolution. As a guarantee of this, we may refer to the vast and unhoped-for results which he has already obtained, and the unshaken resolution he has so often expressed to me, of remaining faithful, to the last moment, to his duties of a King.

EXPLANATORY DOCUMENTS.

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION, OR ROYAL DECREE, FIXING THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION TO THE SPANISH CROWN, GIVEN AT THE PALACE, THE 29TH OF MARCH 1830.

DON FERDINAND the VIIth, by the grace of God, King of Castille and Leon, &c.

To the Infants, prelates, dukes, marquises, counts, *ricoshombres*, priors, commanders of orders and sub-commanders, alcaldes of the Castilles, &c., and all other judges or jurisdictions, ministers, and persons of all cities and towns of my kingdoms and lordships, as well present as to come, be it known:

That to the Cortes held in 1789, in my palace of Buen Retiro, was submitted *the proposition of the King* my august father, now in heaven, as to the necessity and propriety of causing the regular method to be observed, which has been established

by the laws of the kingdom and immemorial custom, for the succession to the Spanish crown, by preferring the elder to the younger, and the male to the female, in the respective lines, according to their order; and that having taken into consideration the immense benefits which the monarchy had derived from its observance for the space of more than seven hundred years, as well as the motives and eventual circumstances which led to the reform decreed by the act of 10th May 1713; they presented to his royal hands a petition, dated 30th September 1789, recalling the great prosperity which had resulted to the kingdom, since the period of the union of the two crowns of Castille and Arragon, from the order of succession specified in Law II, title 15, part 2nd, and beseeching him to be graciously pleased, without regard to the innovation established by the act hereinbefore cited, to ordain that, in the succession to the monarchy, the said immemorial custom should be observed, and perpetually maintained, as it had been always maintained and observed, and to cause a pragmatic sanction to be published, as made and constituted in the assembly of the Cortes which established this resolution and derogation from the act above cited.

After receiving this petition, my august father adopted the course prescribed by the welfare of the kingdom, by replying to the report with which the junta of court assistants, the governor and ministers of my royal chamber of Castille, had accompanied the petition of the Cortes, that "he had taken a resolution in conformity with the said prayer." But he recommended to them, for the present, the most profound secrecy, conceiving it essential to his service; and in the decree now in question, "he ordered his council to issue the pragmatic sanction according to the custom in similar cases." In consideration of this circumstance, the Cortes remitted to a secret sitting a certified copy of the said prayer, and all matters relating to it; and the whole was proclaimed in the assembly, under the required condition of secrecy.

The troubles which then convulsed Europe, and those which the Peninsula has since experienced, did not permit the execution of such important designs, which demanded more tranquil times. Having, by the aid of Divine mercy, happily re-established the peace and order of which my beloved people were so much in need; after having examined this weighty matter, and heard

the advice of ministers zealous for my service and for the good of the state, I have, by my royal decree of the 26th of the present month, ordained that, conformably with the views of the original petition, and of the resolution taken on the subject by my well-beloved father, and of the certificates of the principal notaries of the Cortes which accompanied these documents, the above-mentioned pragmatic sanction shall be issued in the form intended.

Having published it in my General Council, with the assistance of my two Fiscals, who have been heard by word of mouth the 27th of the same month, it was there resolved to complete it by formally drawing it up with the force of law, and of a pragmatic sanction, as made and promulgated in the assembly of the Cortes. Consequently, I ordain that the literal contents of the Law II, title 15, part 2nd, be observed, maintained, and fulfilled in perpetuity, conformably to the petition of the Cortes assembled in my palace of Buen Retiro in 1789, and the literal text of which is as follows:—

"The advantage of primogeniture is a great token of Divine love, bestowed on the sons of Kings who are destined to have other brothers. He

on whom Providence deigns to confer that honour has dominion over the others, who are bound to obey him, and to regard him as their father and lord. That this is true is proved by three reasons: in the first place, it is according to nature; in the second place, to the law; and in the third place, to custom. First, according to nature; because the father and mother ardently desire to have lineage who may inherit their possessions; and he who is first born, and arrives most opportunely to fulfil their desire, must, consequently, be more beloved by them, *and he ought to be so.* Secondly, according to the law; because of what our Lord God said to Abraham, when, to prove his obedience, he commanded him to bring Isaac, his only son, whom he dearly loved, and to sacrifice that son for love of him: and he said it for two reasons; the first, because that was the son whom he loved as himself from the motive above assigned; and the second, because God had chosen him to be a saint, when he appointed him to be the first-born; therefore it is that he was commanded to sacrifice him to God; for, as it was said by Moses in the ancient law, 'every male that is first-born shall be called holy unto the Lord.' That the brothers ought to

regard him as a father, is demonstrated by his being older than they, and coming first into the world: and that they ought to obey him as their lord, is proved by the words which Isaac addressed to his son Jacob when he bestowed his blessing upon him, believing him to be the eldest: 'Thou shalt be lord over thy brethren, and the children of thy father shall bow down unto thee; and he whom thou blessest shall be blessed, and he whom thou cursest, on him shall the malediction fall.' Thus, therefore, by all these expressions we are given to understand that the eldest son has power over the other brothers as father and lord, and that they ought to regard him as such. Moreover, in conformity with ancient custom, fathers usually compassionated the other children, and were not willing that the eldest should have all, but that each of them should have his share: nevertheless, all men who are learned in the affairs of succession acknowledge that partition cannot take place as concerns kingdoms, unless we would destroy them, according to the saying of our Lord Jesus Christ, "That every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation;" and they consider that the right of lordship or royalty ought

to devolve only on the eldest son, after the death of his father.

"And this has always been the usage in all countries of the world where sovereignty has been hereditary, and principally in Spain: it is in order to avoid numerous evils which had happened, and which might again happen, that it was deemed advisable that the sovereignty of the kingdom should be invariably the inheritance of those who should come in the right line; and it was for this reason established that, if there were no male children, the eldest daughter should inherit the kingdom; and further decreed that, if the eldest son happened to die before inheriting, and if he left, by his legitimate wife, a son or a daughter, that the first, and afterwards the second, should have it, and no other person; and if all these should die, the kingdom should be the inheritance of the nearest relative, provided he was of full capacity and had done nothing to forfeit it. Thus therefore, for all these reasons, the people are bound to consider the king's son as their sovereign, for the real welfare of the state. For this reason all who shall act in opposition to what has been said above, shall be treated as traitors, and as such shall receive the punishment to which those are

liable, according to custom, who disavow the authority of the King.

" Consequently, I advise you all ——"

Given at the Palace, the 29th of March, 1830.

I, THE KING.

DECREE OF AMNESTY.

Nothing is sweeter to the heart of a magnanimous and religious Prince, who loves his people, and is sensible of the fervent wishes they have offered up to obtain from the Divine mercy the amelioration and re-establishment of his royal health, than oblivion of the failings of those who, rather through evil example than perverseness, have erred from the path of loyal attachment, and from the respect and submission by which they were heretofore distinguished.

Nothing is more deserving of praise than the extreme goodness with which the King desires to gather under the mantle of his benevolence all his once erring children, to make them partakers of his liberal favours, to restore them to the bosom of their families, and to deliver them from the yoke of necessity by which they are bound to foreigners.

Influenced by these considerations, and still more by the remembrance that they are Spaniards, which is the pledge of their deep and sincere gratitude for the act of grace of a Prince from whom all favours emanate, and under the guidance of hopes so flattering, I, the Queen, availing myself of the rights which my very dear and beloved husband has conferred upon me, and in perfect accordance with his will, grant an amnesty the most complete that has ever till this day been accorded by any monarch to all those who have been prosecuted as state criminals, by whatever differences of party they may be distinguished: always excepting from this act of clemency (and that much against the wishes of my heart) those who had the misfortune to vote for the deposition of the King at Seville, and such as have held the chief command of a force armed against his sovereignty. It is so determined.

Signed by the hand of the Queen.

St. Ildefonso, 15th October 1832.

N. B.—This decree, though dated the 15th, did not appear in the Madrid Gazette till the 23rd of October.

ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN FROM THOSE WHO ENJOYED THE BENEFIT OF THE AMNESTY.

To Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain.

Madam,

Admirers of every supreme ruler who secures the happiness of the people he governs, we feel it a duty incumbent upon us to present to your Majesty our respectful homage, for the generous and noble sentiments your Majesty has manifested in promulgating the recent decree of amnesty, recalling to Spain those who, till this day, have been designated as state criminals.

We do ourselves the justice to believe that, after the proofs we have constantly afforded of our independent opinions, this amnesty may concern us, even though a special decree may not call us individually to the enjoyment of your Majesty's beneficence.

Your Majesty therefore will have no suspicions respecting our sentiments, when we congratulate you; and still less will you cherish any concerning the observations we presume to address to you upon the consequences that will follow this amnesty,—an amnesty which will probably prove

ultimately fatal to your Majesty's magnanimity, as well as to those whom it concerns.

The amnesty is dictated by a courageous spirit, which is sensible of the great necessity there exists of laying the foundation for the regeneration of our country; but, unhappily, that act, in omitting to proclaim a powerful truth, loses its value, and places your Majesty in the most critical position. Yes, Madam, the powerful truth is no other than the innocence of those to whom the amnesty is offered; for, far from having committed any crime, they have on the contrary fulfilled the duty which conscience and honour prescribed, in re-establishing the constitution of the year 1812, of which the King's decree of the 4th of May 1814 contained a promise.

Upon the faith of this royal promise, the nation, which had seen herself deprived of the constitution, took a *conditional oath* to the King; but the King having failed in the condition, the nation also was released from the oath which had bound her. The hero Riego, therefore, and all who have followed his example, were virtuous instead of criminal, in their laudable enterprise. The constitution was restored, and his Majesty the King, your husband, proclaimed it, swore to it, and

caused it to be respected. What crime, then, have your faithful subjects committed in following the example of their King?

No, madam, no Constitutionalist should be amnestied; for amnesty implies pardon, and pardon supposes a crime in him who receives the grant of it.

We believe then that your Majesty's magnanimity has been hampered by circumstances; but we must submit to your notice that half-measures in political crises serve only to make bad worse: it is for this reason that the amnesty, which your Majesty has just conceded, is revolting to the Apostolic enemies of justice, as well as of civilized nations; while the opposing party loses its moral force from the moment that the emigrants are suffered to return in the light of galley-slaves who have accomplished their time, or as criminals pardoned by the clemency of a young and compassionate Queen. The result, therefore, will be the reverse of your Majesty's laudable intentions, unless, with an energetic resolution, you cut the Gordian knot, and in so doing secure happiness to Spain, and to your Majesty the full advantage of the progress of knowledge.

Deign, madam, to listen to the counsels of a few

experienced patriots; cut then this knot! and by that single stroke your Majesty will annihilate all your enemies.

The means of effecting this are to issue a decree, by which the people shall be invested with the territorial possessions of the clergy. Those enormous riches have been acquired only by Divine right, and are robberies committed against the community: first, by the donations of Kings, who snatched from the grasp of the Moors what the Moors had previously taken from Spaniards; and as it is self-evident that the Spanish soil is not an article of merchandise imported from Africa, hence the injustice of confiscating the land, and bestowing it on the clergy, instead of restoring it to the people, to whom that land belonged before the invasion of the Moors. In the second place, the surplus riches of the clergy were acquired by testamentary clauses wrung on their death-bed from the wealthy, affrighted by menaces and mystical suggestions.

Your Majesty perceives, then, that the possessions of the clergy legitimately belong to the people, from whom in various ways they have been stolen; for which reason, those possessions ought to return to the people, and such dangerous

and colossal wealth, from whence the clergy have derived their influence and power, will rapidly pass to the people, in order that, moved by their own interest, they may combat error, deception, and mendacity, which are the arms wielded by those at whose mercy and devotion they have hitherto been.

Timid counsellors may perhaps lead your Majesty to apprehend the insurrection of the clergy; but fear it not; for the people, gainers by the reform, will not join them, or take arms on behalf of those who have usurped their lawful patrimony.

Believe us, just Queen! men will bless the hand that shall break the chains which oppress them; and the clergy themselves, acknowledging the justice of the act, will hasten to re-establish the true religion of Jesus Christ, who was the model of poverty, moderation, and liberality.

Timid counsels have, no doubt, persuaded your Majesty to believe that, in an assembly of the Cortes, composed of the different States, measures of such high importance would be deliberated upon. Take heed that your Majesty does not adhere to such counsels; it would inevitably be the first step towards your Majesty's ruin; for in the discussions of the said Cortes, the majority of which has been, and always will be, composed of the clergy and of their

partisans, they would go the length of stigmatizing the wise measures and projects of your Majesty; after which your Majesty, with the Princesses, would descend from the throne, and Spain would fall back into the barbarism of the past age.

Patriotic sentiments have dictated this address, and we pray your Majesty graciously to accept, &c.

(Here follow the signatures.)

Paris, 5 November 1832.

MANIFESTO OF M. ZEA BERMUDEZ, ON HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE MINISTRY.

Madrid, 4th December 1832.

The line of interior and foreign policy which the King our master had traced for his government had already produced some advantages for the monarchy, and inspired all Europe with merited confidence. Attached to those principles by duty and conviction, every one knows they were the compass by which I constantly steered in the exercise of my functions, when, for the first time, his Majesty deigned to raise me to the important post which he has now again confided to me. It would be superfluous to explain them to you

at this moment; but the Queen, our mistress, having learned that erroneous opinions have for some time circulated in foreign states respecting the actual state of affairs in Spain, and that intentions have been ascribed to her government which it has never entertained, and that it has been supposed she projected a change of system, her Majesty, desirous of dispelling these erroneous impressions by every means in her power, in order that the pernicious consequences which might result from them may be avoided, had commanded me frankly to acquaint you with the course which, with the express concurrence of her august consort, she is firmly resolved to pursue, as well in the administration of the kingdom, as in our relations with the powers our friends and allies.

Among the recent acts of the government, that which best proves the innate clemency of our beloved sovereigns is precisely the act which is the object of false and exaggerated interpretations; that quality, in the exercise of which they most delight, and to which they recognise no limits but the interest of public justice and the safety of the state. Your excellency will have already perceived that I allude to the royal decree of amnesty of the 15th of October last.

The Queen, our mistress, is determined to put the dispositions of that decree into execution with a perseverance equal to the spirit of generosity which dictated it; and as the sweetest recompense her Majesty can receive will be the power of drying the tears of those to whom she opens the doors of their country, she doubts not that they will loyally respond to her maternal benevolence.

Gratuitous imputations have not stopped here. Criticism has extended to other measures, adopted by her Majesty with the sole aim of labouring for the union, the concord, and the happiness of her people. Some, even well-intentioned men, have been terrified to the extent of believing that the form and institutions of the monarchy are about to undergo a total change; in short, they have even conceived that Spain has entered into an alliance with revolution.

As nothing is further from her Majesty's mind, the Queen, our mistress, cannot appear indifferent to this error of the public opinion. Her Majesty is not ignorant that the best form of government of any nation, is that which is most adapted to its character, its manners, and its customs; and Spain has several times avowed, and in an unequivocal manner, that which in this respect best pleases

and best suits her. Her religion in its full splendour; her legitimate Kings enjoying the full plenitude of their authority; her political independence intact; her ancient fundamental laws; the equal administration of justice; and that internal repose, under which alone agriculture, commerce, industry, and the arts can flourish: such are the blessings which the Spanish people ardently desire.

Her Majesty the Queen, maintaining the basis which the wisdom of the King, our master, has laid as the fixed rule of his government, and persuaded that Spaniards cherish a noble pride in their fidelity to their sovereigns, and their submission to the laws, declares herself the irreconcilable enemy of all innovations, religious or political, which it may be desired to establish in the country, or to introduce into it from foreign lands, with a view to overturn the existing order of things, by whatsoever pretexts or manœuvres the spirit of party may seek to cover its criminal intentions. But let it not be therefore imagined that her Majesty will refuse to adopt, in the different branches of the public administration, those ameliorations which a wholesome policy, and the counsels of experienced men truly attached to their country,

may point out as useful. Neither would her Majesty, who is aware that perfection is the attribute of the Supreme Being alone, and that everything proceeding from the hand of man is incomplete, feel any repugnance in revoking or modifying her regulations or decrees, whenever experience may demonstrate their insufficiency or danger.

Such are the maxims which the Queen, our mistress, will follow in the administration of the kingdom. She will also observe, with equal fidelity, those wisely adopted by the King, respecting the diplomatic relations of Spain with foreign nations.

Those maxims form a system of just, simple, and loyal policy, which gains by being studied. It is exempt from ambition, and from any private interest; and is perfectly adapted to preserve and draw closer the bands of amity and good intelligence with foreign cabinets.

A scrupulous observer of treaties concluded, and respecting the independence of foreign nations, Spain demands only that other powers shall continue to maintain towards her the faith of treaties, and that her independence shall be respected. As all the Governments afford her

marks of friendship, she hopes that the testimonies of affection with which her allies reciprocate her good faith, and the efforts she makes to merit their confidence, will progressively increase.

The interior and exterior peace of the country being thus assured, she is enabled to apply herself wholly to the extension of her commercial relations, on a footing of reciprocal benefit, with all nations; and principally with those which, by their situation, the progress of their industry, and other considerations, offer the greatest advantages for the exportation of the numerous and varied products of our fertile country.

The only political question which, for a length of time, has created anxiety to the Spanish Government, (which is interested in its speedy solution,) is the deplorable struggle between the two Princes of the royal house of Braganza. Her Majesty will in no respect deviate from the course she has hitherto pursued. The perfect neutrality which she has promised to observe shall be respected; and applying to this circumstance the principles already declared, of respect for the independence of nations, she will not interfere in the conflict, provided other Cabinets

observe the same conduct with regard to Portugal. The solemn and reiterated promises which her Majesty has had the satisfaction of receiving from the Kings of France and England, who, on their part, will not infringe the neutrality agreed upon, remove all fears of seeing that business involved in further complications.

In short, the good faith and frankness which have always characterised the Spanish Cabinet, and which the Queen, our mistress, desires more than ever to maintain, are an assurance to other nations that they will find in Spain an independent power, firm and constant in her friendship, holding out the prospect of an intercourse equally advantageous and durable; and disposed to contribute to the utmost of her power towards the general peace, which is the object of the desires and efforts of all Sovereigns.

It is by command of her Majesty that I address to you the present note, in order that the declarations and explanations therein contained may always serve for your guidance; that you may rectify, by all the means within your power, the erroneous opinions which may in these latter times have been formed on the real situation of Spain and the views of her Government;

and that you may make use of it in all circumstances when you may judge it proper to do so. With this end it has been read and unanimously approved in the Council of Ministers, over which the Queen, our mistress, deigned to preside in person.

May God have you in his holy keeping.

F. ZEA BERMUDEZ.

NEW DECREE OF THE KING OF SPAIN, ABOLISHING THE SALIC LAW.

31st December 1832.

My royal mind having been artfully worked upon during the moments of agony occasioned by a serious malady, from which the Divine mercy has wonderfully rescued me, I signed an act derogating from the pragmatic sanction of the 29th of March 1830, previously decreed by my august father, at the requisition of the Cortes of 1789, for restoring the regular succession to the crown of Spain.

The agitation of a state in which life appeared to be nearly extinct, would indicate the impossibility of this act being deliberate, even if this

were not sufficiently evident from the effects of the decree being in opposition to the feelings of nature.

As a King, I could not destroy the fundamental laws of the kingdom, of which I had published the restoration; and as a father I could not, my will being free, strip my descendants of their just and legitimate rights.

Disloyal or deceived men surrounded my bed, and abusing my love and that of my dear consort for the Spaniards, aggravated her affliction, and increased the pangs of my situation, by the assurance that the entire nation was opposed to the observance of the pragmatic sanction, and depicting to me the torrents of blood and the universal desolation which must ensue, unless it was abolished.

This atrocious announcement, made under circumstances in which the duty of declaring the truth is more than ever sacred and incumbent upon the persons most bound to speak it to me, and when I had neither leisure nor ability to verify it, overpowered my wearied spirit with consternation, and absorbed all the faculties that remained to me, in the single study how to provide for the peace and preservation of my people; and I made, as far as lay in me, as I declared in the

said decree, that sacrifice to the tranquillity of the Spanish nation.

Perfidy completed the horrible plot commenced by seduction; and, in the course of the same day, certificates of what had passed were distributed, with the decree inserted, the seal which I had ordered to be respected till after my death having been disloyally broken.

Informed now of the falsehood with which traitors have calumniated the loyalty of my dear Spaniards, always faithful to the offspring of their Kings; well persuaded that it is neither in my power nor in my will to derogate from the immemorial custom of the succession established for centuries, sanctioned by the law, justified by the illustrious heroines who have preceded me upon the throne, and solicited by the unanimous vote of the kingdom; released now from the constraining influence of those unhappy circumstances,—I declare solemnly my absolute will, and of my own free accord, that the decree signed amid the agonies of my malady was drawn from me by surprise; that it was the effect of the false terrors with which certain persons assaulted my mind; that it is null and of no account, being in opposition to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and

to the obligations imposed upon me both as a King and a father towards my august offspring.

LETTER AND PROTEST OF DON CARLOS.

My very dear Brother,

This morning, at ten o'clock, my secretary Plazaola came to tell me that Cordova, your minister at this court, desired to know when it would be convenient for me to receive the communication of a royal order. I sent him word in reply that noon would be the most proper hour for that purpose. He returned to me a few minutes before one, and I received him immediately. He presented to me the official document, which I read, and then told him that my dignity and my character would not permit me to answer it otherwise than directly to yourself; that you were my King and lord, and moreover my brother, a much-loved brother, whom I have had the happiness of accompanying in all his adversities.

You desire to know whether or not I intend to take the oath of fidelity to your daughter as Princess of the Asturias. I need not say how much I should desire to take that oath: you know me, you know that my words emanate from my inmost heart. Nothing would be more grati-

fying to me than to be the foremost in recognising your daughter, and in sparing you all the vexations and embarrassments which my refusal may occasion you: but my conscience and honour will not permit it. I possess rights so sacred that I cannot cast them off; rights which God conferred upon me when it pleased him to send me into the world, and of which God alone can deprive me by giving you a son; which I desire, perhaps more ardently than even you desire it yourself. Besides, in this matter, I defend the rights of all those who are called after me to the succession; and for this reason I feel myself obliged to transmit to you the declaration hereunto annexed, which I address in the most solemn manner,—to you, and to all the sovereigns of Europe, to whom I hope you will communicate it.

Adieu, my dear brother! You cannot doubt that I shall be always devoted to you, and that your happiness will ever be the object of your affectionate brother,

(Signed) CARLOS.

DECLARATION.

I, Carlos-Maria-Isidor of Bourbon and Bourbon, Infant of Spain, thoroughly convinced of the le-

gitimate rights which I possess to the crown of Spain, in case I survive your Majesty, and that you leave no male heir, declare that neither my conscience nor my honour permit me to swear to or to recognise any other rights than those.

To the Lord our King,

His affectionate brother and faithful vassal,

(Signed) THE INFANT DON CARLOS OF BOURBON AND BOURBON.

At the Palace of Ramalhao, 29 April 1833.

REPLY OF KING FERDINAND TO HIS BROTHER DON CARLOS.

Madrid, 6 May 1833.

My very dear brother Carlos,

I have never doubted your affection for me, neither, I hope, do you doubt that which I entertain for you; but I am bound to watch over the interests of my rights and of those of my children, as well as of my crown. I will not offer violence to your conscience by compelling you to renounce your *pretended rights*, which you fancy God alone can deprive you of, although they are founded only on the decision of men. But the fraternal affection which I have always cherished towards you, determines me to spare you the an-

noyances you would experience in a country where your rights are disallowed. My regal duties oblige me to remove the presence of an Infant whose pretensions might serve the discontented as a pretext for disturbance. Reasons of the most imperious policy; the laws of the kingdom, which expressly ordain it; your own tranquillity, which is as dear to me as the welfare of my people, no longer admitting of your return to Spain, I authorise you to proceed immediately, with your family, to the Pontifical states. You will give me notice of your arrival there, and of the place you may select for your residence: one of my ships of war will arrive forthwith at the port of Lisbon, to be there at your disposal. Spain is independent of any foreign influence or action in all that relates to her internal administration; and I should be acting in contravention of the free and entire independence of my crown, and violating the principle of non-intervention generally adopted by all the sovereigns of Europe, if I made to them the communication which your letter solicits at my hands.

DEATH OF KING FERDINAND.

To His Excellency the Duke de Hijar.

Excellent Senor,

At the moment of announcing to your Excellency yesterday the state of the health of the King our master, no striking change was remarked beyond continued debility; but this morning we observed that his Majesty's right hand was paralyzed; and although the symptom appeared to be confined to the arm, yet we feared a fatal congestion in the lungs; we immediately applied a blister on the breast, and two others on the lower extremities, in addition to those previously applied on the same parts and on the nape of the neck. We remained upon the watch beside his Majesty's pillow until he took sustenance, in the same manner as on the preceding days. We then left him in the company of her Majesty the Queen, to enable him to take a short repose according to his custom; but at a quarter before three his Majesty was seized with an attack of apoplexy so violent and decisive as, in less than five minutes, to terminate his valuable existence.

PEDRO CASTELLO. MANUEL-DAMIAN PERES.

SEBASTIAN A SO TRAVIESO.

From the Palace, 29 September 1833.

ROYAL DECREES.

At a quarter past three, this day, it pleased God to call to himself the soul of our dear and much-loved consort King Ferdinand, who is now in celestial glory; and as Queen Regent (Gobernadora) during the minority of my august daughter, Donna Isabella II, I invite the Council, with all the grief which corresponds with the tenderness of my nature, to adopt the measures necessary on such an occasion.

Signed by my Royal hand.

Addressed to the Duke President
of the Royal Council.

At the Palace, 29 September 1833.

ANOTHER DECREE.

As Queen Regent of these realms during the minority of my august daughter, the Queen Donna Isabella II. and in order that affairs of state may suffer no interruption from the decease of my dear and much-loved consort, our Lord King Ferdinand, now in celestial glory, I have decided on confirming in their several offices the Secretaries of State, MM. Don Francisco de Zea Bermudez, Don Jose de la Crux, the Count of Ofalia, Don Juan de Gualberto Gonzales, and Don Antonio

Martinez; and I order them to continue in the exercise of their respective functions. I have so determined it. You will communicate this to whomsoever it may concern.

This signed by the Royal hand.

Addressed to Don Francisco de Zea Bermudez.

ANOTHER DECREE.

Satisfied with the good and loyal conduct of the authorities of the kingdom, and desirous that the business of the state may not suffer interruption from the decease of my dear and much-loved consort, our Lord King Ferdinand, now in celestial glory, I have, as Queen and Regent, and in the name of my dear daughter, the Queen Isabella II, confirmed all and each of them in their respective functions, and I desire they will retain them, continuing to give peace and to do justice to my people, over whom their power is exercised. I have so determined it. You will communicate this to whomsoever it may concern.

This signed by the Royal hand.

Addressed to the Duke President
of the Royal Council.

At the Palace, 29 September 1833.

The King's Will.

Extract from the Madrid Gazette of the 3rd October 1833.

Royal Decree.

Entrusted by legal decision with the government of these realms, in the name of my august daughter Donna Isabella II, I have deemed it necessary to transmit to the Council several decrees of the date of the 29th of September, announcing the decease of my very dear and beloved consort Don Ferdinand VIIth, to the end that they might adopt the measures customary on such an occasion; and confirming in their respective offices and employments the ministers and all the authorities of the kingdom, that the despatch of business, and the political and judicial administration, might not be interrupted. On the following day a packet was found, closed, and sealed with the royal arms, the envelope of which proclaimed it to be the testament of my said august consort, made at Aranjuez, the 10th of June 1830, in presence of Don Francisco Tadeo de Calomarde, the Secretary of State for the department of Grace and Justice, and Chief Notary of the king-

dom, and of a sufficient number of witnesses, whose signatures appeared to be those of Don Louis-Maria Salazar, Don Louis-Lopez Ballesteros, Don Miguel de Harrela, Don Manuel-Gonzales Salmon, Don Francisco-Xavier Losada, Don Juan-Miguel de Grijalva, and Don Antonio-Martinez Salcedo; I commanded the present Minister of Grace and Justice, and Great Notary, Don Juan-Gualberto Gonzales, to whom I delivered the document, to summon by my order such of the above-named witnesses as were at court, and to instruct Don Ramon-Lopez Pelegrin, Minister of the Council and Chamber of Castille, in his capacity of judge, and in presence of a competent royal officer, to proceed, in the forms which the law prescribes in similar cases, to the ceremony of opening, inspecting, and publishing the said testament: which being done with due solemnity in the saloon of the palace in which the sittings of the Council of State are held, in presence of such of the aforesaid witnesses as are at present in Madrid, to whom were added the Duke President of the Royal Council, Don Francisco de Zea Bermudez, principal Secretary of State and Minister for Foreign affairs; the Duke of Hijar, Marquis of Orani, Great Chamberlain; the Marquis of Belgida, Great

Equerry; and the Marquis of Valverde, Comptroller of the Queen's household;

They recognised that it was truly and really the testament of the late King Ferdinand VIIth, under his royal signature, the 10th of the said month and year; and amongst other clauses, before those having donations, legacies, or alms for their object, and after general confessions of faith, recommendations of his soul, and dispositions relative to his funeral, and others relating to the Royal Family and household, appeared the following:—

ARTICLE IX.

"I declare that I am married to Donna Maria-Christina de Bourbon, daughter of Don Francis I. King of the Two Sicilies, and of my sister Donna Maria-Isabella, Infanta of Spain.

ARTICLE X.

"If, at the time of my decease, all or any one of my children, whom it may have pleased God to give me, be under age, I will that my dearly-beloved consort, Donna Maria-Christina de Bourbon, shall be their guardian and trustee.

ARTICLE XI.

"If the son or the daughter who may succeed to my crown has not attained the age of eighteen

years at the time of my decease, I name my dearly-beloved consort, Donna Maria-Christina, Regent and Governess of the whole monarchy, alone to govern and administer it, until my son or my daughter shall have completed eighteen years of age.

ARTICLE XII.

"Wishing that, for the government of the kingdom, my dearly-beloved consort may obtain the assistance of the wisdom and experience of persons whose attachment to my royal person and my family are well known, I desire that, at the same time that she undertakes the regency of the kingdom, she shall institute a Council of Government with whom she may consult on difficult matters, and especially such as may be of a nature possibly tending in any degree to impair the happiness of my subjects, without however in any manner obliging her to conform expressly to the will of the council.

ARTICLE XIII.

"The said Council of Government shall be composed of the following persons, and according to the order of nomination here following: his eminence Don Juan-Francisco-Marco y Catalan, cardinal of the holy Roman church; the Marquis of Santa

Crux; the Duke de Medina-Cœli; Don Francis-Xavier Castaños; the Marquis de Las Amarillas; the present Dean of the Council of Castille; Don Joseph-Maria Puig; the Minister of the Council of the Indies, Don Francis-Xavier Caro. To supply the absence, by reason of sickness or death, of all or any of the members of the above-named Council of Government, I nominate, in the class of Ecclesiastics, Don Thomas Arias, Auditor of the Rota in this kingdom; in the class of Grandees of Spain, the Duke del Infantado and the Count d'España; in the class of Generals, Don Joseph de la Cruz, and in that of the Magistracy, Don Nicholas-Maria Gareli and Don Joseph-Maria Hevia y Noriega, member of my Royal Council, who shall be substituted for the absentees in the order here expressed; and in case any of these should fail, I desire that they be replaced in their important functions by the persons hereafter mentioned; and I will that the Secretary of the said Council of Government be Don Narciso de Heredia, Count d'Ofalia, and in default of him, Don Francisco de Zea Bermudez.

ARTICLE XIV.

"If after my decease, or after or before the said Council of Government is installed, some

of its members should happen to be deficient, from whatever cause it may be, my dearly-beloved consort, as Regent and Governess of the kingdom, shall appoint as their successors persons who may merit her confidence, uniting also the necessary qualities for filling so important an office.

ARTICLE XV.

" If, which God forbid, my dearly-beloved consort should die before the son or daughter who is to succeed me shall have attained the full age of eighteen years, I will and ordain that the regency and government of the kingdom, as well as the tutelage and guardianship, pass to a Council of Regency, composed of the individuals designated in clause 13 of the present testament, to form a part of the Council of Government.

ARTICLE XVI.

" I will and ordain that the Council of Regency, established in conformity with the preceding clause, shall decide all questions brought before it by a majority of votes; so that no question shall be carried without the concurring votes of one half the number and one more.

ARTICLE XVII.

"I constitute and appoint as my universal and exclusive heirs, the children, male or female, that may remain to me at the moment of my decease, excepting always the fifth part of all my property, which I bequeath to my dearly-beloved consort Donna Maria-Christina of Bourbon, to whom shall also be allowed the amount of the dowry she brought me in marriage, and all other advantages granted by the laws of the kingdom, agreeably to the articles of the marriage contract executed at Madrid on the 5th of November 1829."

Accordingly, and without prejudice to the orders which I shall give, to the end that a certified copy of the integral testament be delivered to the Council, judging it advantageous and just towards this kingdom that all persons should be informed of the foregoing sovereign provisions and last will of the King Don Ferdinand, my dear and well-beloved consort defunct, by which he deigned to appoint me Regent and Governess of the kingdom, alone to govern and administer it till my august daughter Donna Isabella the Second shall have attained her eighteenth year, I

hereby, in her royal name, command the Royal Council to give them publicity, with all the customary solemnities, in the form of a pragmatic sanction, having the force of law. And from the confidence I repose in the love and loyalty of all Spaniards, and in their veneration for their deceased monarch, for his august daughter who has succeeded him, and for the fundamental laws, I flatter myself they will applaud this his paternal solicitude, and that God will grant my fervent wishes, which are to promote, aided by the wisdom of the Council of Government, peace and justice throughout this vast kingdom, and to raise this heroic nation to that degree of prosperity and splendour which her love of religion, her sacrifices, and her virtues, have so well deserved. You will hold it as determined, in order to see it executed.

Signed by the Queen's hand, at the Palace, 2nd October, 1833.

To the Duke President of the Council.

MANIFESTO OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN REGENT.

Oppressed with the deepest grief for the sudden loss of my august consort and sovereign, nothing short of a sacred obligation, before which

all sentiments of the heart must yield, could induce me to break a silence imposed by the weight of my affliction and by the blow which has so cruelly bereaved me. The expectation always excited by a new reign is, in this case, increased by uncertainty concerning the course of policy to be pursued during the minority of the sovereign. To dissipate that uncertainty, and remove the uneasiness it is calculated to produce in the public mind, I have considered it my duty openly to declare the principles which I shall steadily pursue in exercising the government which the last will of the King, my august spouse, has imposed upon me during the minority of the Queen, my dear and beloved daughter, Donna Isabella.

Religion and monarchy, the primary elements of political existence to Spain, shall be respected, protected, and maintained by me in all their vigour and purity. The Spanish people possess in their innate zeal for the worship and faith of their fathers, the most perfect guarantee that no one will venture to require their obedience, who does not respect the sacred object of their belief and adoration. My heart rejoices in co-operating with, and directing this zeal of a nation eminently

Catholic, and in giving her the assurance that the immaculate religion we profess, its doctrines, its temples, and its ministers, shall be the first and principal objects of the attention of my government.

I experience the liveliest satisfaction in the reflection that it is my duty to preserve entire the deposit of the royal authority which has been committed to my keeping. I will religiously maintain the form and fundamental laws of the monarchy, without admitting dangerous innovations, however respectable their principle may be; for we have already, unhappily, but too sadly experienced their effects. The best form of government for this country is that to which it is accustomed. A stable and compact dominion, founded on ancient laws, respected by long habit, consecrated by the lapse of centuries, is the most powerful instrument for effecting the welfare of nations, which can never be obtained by weakening the supreme authority, by combating established opinions, customs, and institutions, by disturbing existing interests, in order to excite fresh ambitions and produce fresh exigencies, by arousing the passions of the multitude, arraying the various classes of society in opposition to each other, and scattering confusion through the whole mass. I

will transmit the sceptre of the Spains into the hands of the Queen to whom the law awards it, entire, without diminution or detriment, in a word, such as the law itself has constituted it; but I will not, meanwhile, leave the precious possession which awaits her, neglected or unimproved.

I know the evils to which the people are a prey, in consequence of the calamities with which we have been visited, and I will strive to alleviate their burden. Aware of the abuses which the frailty of men and the lapse of time have introduced into the public economy, I will closely investigate, and exert my utmost efforts to extirpate them. Those administrative reforms which produce immediate happiness and prosperity, the only advantage of positive value to the people, shall be the permanent objects of my solicitude. My care shall be principally directed to the diminution of imposts, as far as may be compatible with the security of the state and the good of the public service; to the prompt and equitable administration of justice; to affording security to person and property, and giving the encouragement and assistance they merit to all the sources of national wealth.

In the execution of the glorious task I impose

upon myself of giving happiness to Spain, I shall stand in need of the unanimous co-operation, and the perfect union in will and deed, of all Spaniards, and I expect to obtain it; all are sons of their country, and equally interested in her happiness. I shall not inquire into the opinions which have been heretofore advanced; I shall lend no ear to calumny or detraction; I shall not recognise obscure intrigues, or interested acts of fidelity and adhesion, as services conferring claims to reward. Neither the Queen's name nor mine can be the standard of a party. The Queen's name must, as well as my own, serve as a protecting banner to the whole nation:—my affection, my protection, my solicitude, belong to all Spaniards.

I shall inviolably preserve the treaties concluded with foreign powers, and shall respect their independence; claiming nothing at their hands but a reciprocity towards Spain of the same good faith and the same respect, as her unquestionable right.

If Spaniards will unanimously concur in promoting the ends which I propose to myself, and Heaven bless our efforts, I shall one day hand over this great nation, with all her misfortunes healed, to the care of my august daughter, that she

may consummate the work of her felicity, and extend and perpetuate the halo of glory and of love which already surrounds, in the annals of Spain, the illustrious name of Isabella.

(Signed) I, the Queen Regent.

Given at the Palace of Madrid, 4th October 1833.

DECREE FOR THE PROSCRIPTION OF DON CARLOS.

The Chamber of Peers (Estamento de Proceres) of the kingdom, taking into consideration the resolution submitted by the Government, in conformity with the commands of her Majesty the Queen Regent, relating to the conduct of the Infant Don Carlos, and adopting the recommendation of the committee appointed to examine it, declare the Infant Don Carlos-Maria-Isidor de Bourbon, and all his descendants, excluded from the right of succession to the Spanish crown. The Chamber further, of its own accord, declares the Infant Don Carlos and all his descendants deprived of the privilege of returning within the territories and dominions of Spain.

Seventy-two members voted, the Count of Taboada alone declining to vote.

The Count of Altares, the Archbishop of Burgos, the Bishop of Valladolid, the Marquises of Ca-

marasa and Cenelbo, and the Count of Cuba, were absent from the sitting.

PROCLAMATION TO THE INHABITANTS OF BISCAY.

Biscayans !—An anti-religious and anti-monarchical faction, which rose to power during the long illness of our deceased sovereign, has endeavoured to acquire the ascendancy, and to bring us again into subjection to the spirit of revolution and anarchy which we defeated in 1823. Crafty and deceitful, they have affected to consider the fundamental laws of the kingdom as abrogated by more recent ones; and altering and transforming the legal and fundamental order of the monarchy, with an audacity unparalleled in history, they have endeavoured to make Spain a party to those horrible conspiracies which the revolutionary propagandists employ for the destruction of social order throughout Europe.

Public and private intrigues were openly set in motion for compassing the end proposed, and the renowned fidelity of this glorious land could not escape their ramifications.

Loyalty is written in your hearts, which appeared to be compressed within narrow bounds, so

long as the existence of the monarch opposed a barrier to the effusion of their sentiments. But when Providence thought fit to call him to Himself, you were electrified by the noblest and purest patriotism; you have broken the chain of opprobrium with which you were threatened, and have proclaimed your legitimate sovereign, the magnanimous and virtuous Don Carlos-Maria de Bourbon, who has appeared, encircled by the love of all Spaniards, to heal the wounds which the evil genius, destructive of all social order, had inflicted.

Biscayans!—Persevere steadily, in common with all true Spaniards, in your earnest resolution.

The general deputation which is at your head will give the signal to your zealous enthusiasm; and when your efforts, in unison with those of the monarchy at large, shall have succeeded in placing on the throne of St. Ferdinand our beloved sovereign Don Carlos Vth, what happiness will be yours, when the whole world shall learn that your loyalty does not degenerate from that of your illustrious and intrepid ancestors!

Bilboa, 5th October 1833.

The Marquis of VALDEESPINA; F. XAVIER DE BATIZ; FERNANDO DE ZAVALA.

PROCLAMATION TO THE NAVARRESE.

Navarrese !—Commissioned to assert the legitimate rights to the crown of Spain of our Lord Don Carlos V. our King by the fundamental law of 1713, I now appear for the third time in the field of honour.

Let us all unite to defend this just and sacred cause, on which depend your dearest interests, your religion, your property, and a solid and durable peace. Let us join without delay those loyal comrades who have risen in various quarters of the kingdom to support and place upon the throne that virtuous prince. Let not the misfortune which has befallen Santos-Ladron deter you. In other times you have witnessed the fall of a Mina, a Cruchega, a Gorriz, and others, while defending this kingdom against the arms of the Colossus of the world, and you have seen them instantly replaced by other natives of Navarre without injury to their glorious cause; the ranks of the royalists, on the contrary, swelled: so will it prove in our present struggle; you will have leaders who deserve the confidence of their country, and while under arms, you shall want for nothing.

The loyal army of observation on the Tagus

have mostly declared for Don Carlos, who has entered Badajos, and is on his way to Madrid.

No vengeance,—oblivion of the past, and a religious observance of the decree of amnesty!

Let order, union, and valour be your motto, and triumph is certain.

Colonel FRANCISCO-BENITO DE ERASO.

Burguete, 17th October 1833.

EXTRACT FROM ANOTHER PROCLAMATION.

Soldiers!—A new campaign opens; you are not called upon for a struggle such as the war with Napoleon, yet is the means of acquiring immortal glory held out to you; you may save your country, and restore order and justice throughout Spain. The legitimate rights of Charles the Fifth to the succession of the Spanish crown are in question, rights recognized by the Courts of Naples and Turin, and proclaimed throughout Spain.

Soldiers! the people, satisfied of the justice of the cause they assert, are flying to arms; you are aware of their object, and you cannot doubt their ultimate triumph.

Chiefs and Officers, worthy of the heroic nation to which you belong! reflect on the consequences

of protracted indecision; consider the responsibility you will incur by procrastinating your determination, and refusing to accept the invitation which a companion in arms offers you in the name of your legitimate sovereign.

FRANCISCO-BENITO DE ERASO.

Burguete, 17 October 1833.

TREATY OF THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, during the minority of her daughter Isabella II. Queen of Spain, and his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarves, in the name of Queen Donna Maria II.

Intimately convinced that the interests and security of the two crowns imperiously demand the immediate and vigorous exertion of their mutual efforts for terminating hostilities, which heretofore had for their object the overthrow of her Portuguese Majesty's throne, and now afford countenance and support to discontented subjects of the kingdom of Spain; their said Majesties, desirous at once to secure the means of restoring peace and internal prosperity to their dominions, and to establish, on reciprocal and solid bases the

bonds of future amity between the two states, have agreed to unite their forces for the purpose of obliging the Infant Don Carlos of Spain and the Infant Don Miguel of Portugal to evacuate the territories of the latter kingdom.

In consequence of this agreement, their Majesties the Regents have applied to their Majesties the King of the French, and the King of Great Britain and Ireland. The two latter sovereigns, taking into consideration the interest with which the safety of the Spanish monarchy must always inspire them, and animated with the most ardent desire for the restoration of peace both to the Peninsula and to Europe, and his Britannic Majesty taking into further consideration the special obligations which result from his ancient alliance with Portugal, have consented to act as parties to the said treaty.

To this intent, their Majesties have appointed plenipotentiaries in the order following:

Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, Don Manuel-Pardo-Fernandez de Pinedo, Count of Villa Paterna and of Florida Blanca, her minister plenipotentiary to his Britannic Majesty.

His Majesty the King of the French, the Prince

de Talleyrand, his ambassador at the court of London.

His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, the Viscount Palmerston, his minister for foreign affairs.

His Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, Don Christobal-Pedro de Moraes-Sarmento, his envoy extraordinary at the court of London.

And the said plenipotentiaries have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE I.—His Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, in the name of the Queen Donna Maria the Second, binds himself to exert every means in his power to drive the Infant Don Carlos from the Portuguese dominions.

ARTICLE II.—Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, invited and entreated by his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, and having moreover very just and serious cause of complaint against the Infant Don Miguel, on account of the support which he has lent to the Infant Don Carlos of Spain, engages to send into the Portuguese territory such a number of Spanish troops as may be sufficient and necessary to co-operate with those of his Imperial Majesty in expelling Don

Carlos of Spain and Don Miguel from the Portuguese territory; the Queen of Spain also undertaking to maintain at her own charge, and without any expense to the Portuguese government, the said Spanish troops; which troops shall be everywhere received and treated in the same manner as the troops of his Majesty the Duke of Braganza: and her Majesty binds herself to withdraw her troops from the Portuguese territory immediately that the expulsion of the said Infants shall be accomplished, and that the presence of the said troops shall no longer be required by her most Faithful Portuguese Majesty.

ARTICLE III.—His Majesty the King of Great Britain engages to co-operate by employing a naval force to second the necessary resolutions and operations consequent upon the present treaty.

ARTICLE IV.—In case the co-operation of France *shall be deemed necessary* by the high contracting parties, his Majesty the King of the French engages to do all that his Majesty *and his very august allies shall unanimously determine upon.*

ARTICLE V.—The high contracting parties have agreed, that in consequence of the stipulations

contained in the preceding articles, a declaration shall be immediately published, acquainting the Portuguese nation with the object of the present treaty; and his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, animated with a sincere desire of effacing all remembrance of the past, and of rallying the entire nation round the throne of his daughter, declares his intention of publishing a general and complete amnesty in favour of all the subjects of her most Faithful Majesty who shall within a prescribed time return to their allegiance; and the said Regent also declares his intention of securing to the Infant Don Miguel, as soon as he shall have quitted the Portuguese and Spanish dominions, a pension corresponding with his rank and birth.

ARTICLE VI.—Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, in virtue of the present article, declares her intention of securing to the Infant Don Carlos, as soon as he shall have quitted the Spanish and Portuguese territories, a pension correspondent to his rank and birth.

ARTICLE VII.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and its ratifications shall be exchanged in London within a month, or sooner if possible.

In faith of which, the four above plenipoten-

tiaries have signed and sealed in London, the 23rd of April 1834.

MIRA-FLORES, TALLEYRAND,
PALMERSTON, MORAES-SARMENTO.

CONVENTION OF EVORA.

His Imperial Majesty the Senhor Don Pedro, Duke of Braganza, Regent in the name of the Queen, the Senhora Donna Maria II., moved by the desire of terminating as speedily as possible the effusion of Portuguese blood and of pacifying the kingdom, grants, in the name of the Queen, to the troops assembled at Evora, and in other parts of the monarchy, as also to all the individuals who shall submit and give obedience to the Queen, as follows:—

ARTICLE I.

A general amnesty is granted for all political delinquencies committed since the 21st day of July 1826. The execution of the decree of the 31st of August 1833 is suspended in favour of those who are included in this amnesty, until the Cortes shall have deliberated upon their cases. These persons shall re-enter upon their property; but cannot alienate the same till after the decision of the Cortes. The amnesty does not include

restitution of ecclesiastical, political, and civil offices; nor of crown property; nor of orders, commanderies, and pensions: neither does it extend to offences against individuals, nor exempt from responsibility to the prejudice of any third party.

ARTICLE II.

All persons included in this amnesty, whether natives or foreigners, are at liberty to quit Portugal, and to dispose of their property in so far as it is not subject to the restrictions of the preceding article; and they shall give their words never to take part, in any manner whatsoever, in the political affairs of these kingdoms.

ARTICLE III.

The military officers under this amnesty shall preserve their rank legitimately acquired, and the government undertakes to provide them a subsistence proportionate to it.

ARTICLE IV.

The same rule shall hold in ecclesiastical and civil employments, so far as the holders shall deserve them by their services and merits.

ARTICLE V.

An annual pension of sixty contos of reis (400,000 francs) is secured to Don Miguel, in consideration of his high birth; and he is

allowed to dispose of his personal property, under condition that he give up the jewels and other property belonging to the crown, or to private individuals.

ARTICLE VI.

He may embark in a vessel-of-war of one of the powers united in alliance by the treaty of London of the 22nd of April of the present year, which vessel shall be sent to him at any port he shall name; full assurance being given to him of security for his person and suite, and of all the respect due to his exalted birth.

ARTICLE VII.

The Senhor Don Miguel obliges himself to quit Portugal within the space of fifteen days, and engages never to return to any part of the Peninsula of the Spains or of the Portuguese dominions, nor in any manner to disturb the tranquillity of these kingdoms. In case of his acting contrary to this engagement, he shall lose all right to the stipulated pension, and be liable to all the consequences of his conduct.

ARTICLE VIII.

The troops in the service of the Senhor Don Miguel shall lay down their arms in the place to be pointed out to them.

ARTICLE IX.

All the regiments and corps now in the service of the usurpation, after surrendering their arms, horses, and ammunition, shall separate peaceably, and return to their respective homes, under pain of forfeiting the benefits of the present amnesty.

The commander-in-chief of the forces assembled at Evora, after having accepted the present concession, in the name of all the persons comprehended in it, has agreed to the following articles to insure its execution.

ARTICLE I.

He shall immediately despatch orders to the commanders of all the fortresses, and of all the troops in the field, and to all the authorities who still acknowledge the government of the Senhor Don Miguel, to submit without delay to the government of her most Faithful Majesty Senhora Donna Maria II. under the condition of receiving the benefits of the amnesty.

ARTICLE II.

The dispositions of the preceding article shall extend to all the ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities of the possessions of the monarchy beyond sea.

ARTICLE III.

The Senhor Don Miguel shall quit the town of Evora during the day of the 30th of this present month of May, to repair to Sines, where his embarkation shall take place (according to his own desire). He shall be accompanied on his journey by the persons of his personal suite, by twenty horsemen formerly serving in his army, and by two squadrons of the cavalry of the Queen's armies.

The commander of the forces assembled at Evora shall send to the marshal commanding the armies of the Queen a list containing the names of the persons of the Senhor Don Miguel's suite.

ARTICLE IV.

During the day of the 31st of May instant, the troops assembled at Evora shall lay down their arms in the building of the Seminary of that town, and shall form themselves, according to the nature of their service, into troops, which, under the responsibility of their senior officers, shall repair to the localities hereinafter specified: they shall be provided, on their march, with their daily rations, and on arriving at the place of their destination shall receive orders of route to repair to their respective homes.

The natives of Lower Beira, to Abrantes;
Upper Beira, — Viseu;
Tras-Os-Montes, — Villareal;
Entre Douro-e-Minho, Oporto;
Alemtejo, to have their passports immediately;
Algarves, — Faro.

The militia and the volunteers, of what denomination soever, shall immediately receive the orders for their route to their respective homes.

And that this may be definitively agreed, the marshals commanding the armies of the Queen, and the commander of the forces assembled at Evora, Joseph-Antonio de Azevedo-Lemos, have signed in duplicate.

Evora-Monte, 26th May 1834.

Duke de TERCEIRA,
Marshal of the Army.
Conde de SALDANHA,
Marshal of the Army.
JOSE-ANTONIO de AZEVEDO-LEMOS,
Lieutenant-general.
ANTONIO de ANDRADE-TORREZAO,
Acting Chief of the Staff.

PROCLAMATION OF DON MIGUEL TO HIS ARMY.

Soldiers!

The valour you have displayed whenever you have been called to combat for my crown, and your fidelity to my person in the midst of the difficult struggle in which we have been engaged, render you worthy of the highest eulogiums, and deserve all my gratitude.

Nevertheless, since the three great powers of England, France, and Spain, in conjunction with the government of Lisbon, have concluded a treaty, the object of which is to force me to quit this kingdom, the continuation of the war can only lead to the useless effusion of Portuguese blood which is so dear to me.

This consideration alone has induced me to separate myself from you.

The conventions and arrangements which arise out of this resolution are concluded, and will shortly be communicated to you: you will then learn what stipulations have been made for your safety.

It is no want of confidence in you which has induced me to take this step, but a conviction of the impossibility of overcoming the powers opposed to

us, and the desire to prevent the evils to which the presence of foreign armies would expose our beloved country. I have reason to hope, from your discipline and your obedience to myself, as well as from the love which you have always testified towards me, that the troops will conduct themselves in the existing crisis as troops worthy to obey their King; therefore it is that I again recommend to you the observance of order and tranquillity, for which I make the commanders and officers of all ranks responsible.

You will remember that it is no act of weakness which I require of you, but merely one of resignation, in yielding to the disproportionate forces which, in pursuance of the treaty above mentioned, are preparing to pour into this country. You will appreciate as they deserve these reasons, which prudence dictates, for the prevention of calamities that would consummate the miseries of our country.

"Again I recommend to you order and resignation. Be assured that I shall never forget your valour, your constancy, and your fidelity. Contribute then by your conduct to the welfare of our dear country.

(Signed) MIGUEL.

At the Palace of Evora, 27th May 1834.

ARTICLE I.

His Royal Highness the Infant Don Carlos shall quit Evora, with his family and suite, on the 30th instant, to proceed to Aldea Gallega, and there to embark.

ARTICLE II.

On this journey the marshals answer for the safety of his Royal Highness, his family and suite, and will furnish him with such escort as his Royal Highness shall require.

ARTICLE III.

All Spanish subjects now in Portugal, and compromised in the service of his Royal Highness, shall be received into a provisionary depôt at Santarem, and shall be conducted thither under the escort necessary to their safety.

ARTICLE IV.

The Portuguese government shall provide them, at the depôt, with the means of existence, until they may without danger quit the depôt for some other residence.

Evora-Monte, 26th May 1834.

The Duke of TERCEIRA, Marshal of the Army.
The Count of SALDANHA, Marshal of the Army.
JOHN GRANT, Secretary of the Legation of his Britannic Majesty.

PROTEST OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING DON MIGUEL.

In consequence of the events which have obliged me to quit my dominions of Portugal, and provisionally to abandon the exercise of my authority, my personal honour, the interests of my faithful subjects, every motive indeed of justice and propriety, oblige me to protest, as I hereby do protest, in the face of all Europe, against the aforesaid events, and against every innovation whatsoever which the actual government of Lisbon shall have made, or shall hereafter make, to the prejudice of the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

After what I have just declared, the whole world may judge that my acquiescence in all which was imposed upon me by the overwhelming forces confided to the generals of the two governments existing at Madrid and Lisbon, in conjunction with two great powers, was only provisional, and had no other object than that of saving my Portuguese subjects from misfortunes, from which the just resistance which it was in my power to oppose could not have protected them, having been surprised by an unforeseen attack,

which could never have been expected from a power not only friendly, but allied.

From all these motives I had firmly proposed at that time, as soon as it should be in my power, to make known (as my honour and duty required) to all the powers of Europe the injustice of the aggression against my rights and person. I should have protested and declared then, as I do now, being at full liberty, protest and declare against the capitulation of the 26th of May, which was proposed to me by the government existing at Lisbon; an act into which I was forced, for the prevention of great misfortunes and of the effusion of the blood of my faithful subjects.

This capitulation should in consequence be regarded as of no validity.

MIGUEL.

Genoa, 20th June 1834.

PROCLAMATION OF CHARLES THE FIFTH TO HIS ARMY.

Soldiers! my wishes are accomplished. I am with you! My heart has long desired this moment; you know my constant efforts to attain to it. My paternal heart takes delight in contemplating

with emotion your exploits, which will be remembered by the remotest posterity.

Volûnteers and soldiers! your sufferings, your fatigues, your constancy, your attachment to your legitimate Kings and to my royal person, are the admiration of all nations, who have no adequate praise for such heroic devotedness.

Let us all then march, myself at your head—let us march to victory! It is always painful to me, on account of the Spanish blood which it costs, and which I would spare; this is why I invite all those to take refuge under my royal mantle who have been seduced or deceived, and who, docile to my voice, shall come to lay down their arms. But if, contrary to my expectation, some shall be found to persist in their wilful blindness, they shall be treated as rebels to my royal person: I shall be as severe to those who persevere in rebellion as indulgent to those who may repent.

And you, valiant and faithful warriors, now united round your chief and your father, let the severest discipline reign among you; give the most implicit obedience to your commanders. Strength lies in discipline and obedience, and in strength is the victory which God reserves to the just cause.

Generals, officers, volunteers, and soldiers! I am sensible of your immense services, and your King will know how to reward them.

I, THE KING.

At my royal residence of Elisondo,
12th July 1834.

DECREE OF AMNESTY BY CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Happily restored to the arms of my faithful Spaniards; my paternal heart being aware of the melancholy and disastrous occurrences which have arisen from the efforts of some men to support the pretended rights of my well-beloved niece, Donna Isabella de Bourbon, to the throne to which I am called by the fundamental law of the state; desiring to put an end to a war fatal alike to the public interests and private fortunes of my dear vassals; and my paternal heart having compassion on those who, by seduction, by weakness, or ignorance, have taken up arms against the brave defenders of my legitimate rights; yielding to the sentiments which fill my heart, I have decreed the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

Amnesty is granted, without prejudice to the

rights of third parties, to all the generals, chiefs, officers, and soldiers, who, within the period of fifteen days, for Navarre and Biscay, and of one month for the rest of the Peninsula, shall lay down their arms, and, recognising my legitimate rights, shall present themselves to me or to one of the chiefs who defend my cause.

ARTICLE II.

The generals, chiefs, and officers, who shall conform to the preceding article, shall preserve the employments, rank, and decorations, which they may have obtained before the death of my august brother Don Ferdinand VIIth. (May God have his soul!)

ARTICLE III.

The subaltern officers and soldiers shall receive their absolute discharge, if they are not willing to remain in my service during the present war; and those who choose to serve under my standard shall be entitled to it at the close of the war.

ARTICLE IV.

The serjeants and corporals, included in the preceding article, who shall remain in my service beyond the period of the present war, shall advance a degree in rank; and the soldiers in the same

circumstances shall have four additional years reckoned to them in the allotment of rewards and pensions.

ARTICLE V.

The first article shall be applicable to all the chiefs, officers, and soldiers of corps or companies which, under the names of Tirailleurs of Isabella, Chasseurs of the Mountains, Urbanos, Peseteros, &c. may have formed themselves to support by arms the cause of usurpation.

ARTICLE VI.

Every chief who shall pass into the ranks of my army with the whole or part of the force under his orders, shall be entitled to farther favours on my part for this extraordinary service.

Given at Elisondo, 12th July 1834.

I, THE KING.

PROCLAMATION OF CHARLES V. TO HIS PEOPLE.

Spaniards! — How great is my joy in finding myself in the midst of you, surrounded by the most sincere demonstrations of your love, after having exhausted to the dregs the bitter chalice of exile,—thanks to the iniquitous machinations of those who have at all times shown themselves the enemies of God and of thrones!—I am come to fulfil

the duties of gratitude; and, animated with the most ardent desire of promoting the happiness of my well-beloved subjects, I shall neglect nothing to procure for them the benefits of peace, and the advantages of a government at once energetic and paternal, as soon as, with the help of Heaven, the valour of my faithful soldiers, and the support of the august monarchs who sympathize with my misfortunes, and who offer me their co-operation, I shall have concluded a disastrous struggle which fills me with grief.

Spaniards!—Resolved to conquer sword in hand that which belongs to me of right, I am desirous first to employ all the resources of my sovereign clemency. With the same satisfaction which I shall feel in rewarding merit and fidelity, I shall forget past errors, provided a sincere repentance, accompanied by proofs of positive attachment to my royal person, shall afford a sufficient assurance for future good conduct. My natural lenity, and the loyalty of my character are the guarantees which I offer for the religious performance of my royal promise. Spaniards! show yourselves docile to the voice of reason and justice; be sparing of Spanish blood, and, grasping the olive instead of the ensanguined laurel, hasten to the

term of the evils which I deplore, and to the enjoyment of the happiness which I promise you. I, THE KING.

At the Palace of Alsasua, 15th July 1834.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES TO THE TREATY OF THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

His Majesty the King of the French, her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain during the minority of her daughter the Queen Donna Isabella II, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, Regent of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves in the name of the Queen Donna Maria II, high contracting parties to the treaty of the 23rd April 1834, having given their serious attention to the events which have recently taken place in the Peninsula, and being fully convinced that, in this new state of things, new measures have become necessary to the complete attainment of the object of the said treaty: the undersigned,

Charles-Maurice of Talleyrand-Perigord, Prince Duke de Talleyrand, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty the

King of the French at the court of his Britannic Majesty;

Don Manuel-Pardo-Fernandez de Pinedo Alaya y Davela, Marquis of Miraflores, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of her Catholic Majesty at the court of his Britannic Majesty;

Henry John, Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, his Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs;

Don Christoval-Pedro de Moraes-Sarmento, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of her most Faithful Majesty at the court of his Britannic Majesty;

Being authorised by their respective Governments, have agreed to the following additional articles to the treaty of the 23rd April 1834:—

ARTICLE I.

His Majesty the King of the French engages to take, in that part of his dominions which adjoins Spain, the measures best calculated to prevent any kind of succour, whether of men, arms, or ammunitions of war, being sent from the French territory to the insurgents in Spain.

ARTICLE II.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages to

furnish to her Catholic Majesty all the succours in arms and ammunitions of war which her Catholic Majesty may require; and further, to assist with naval forces if necessary.

ARTICLE III.

His Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, Regent of Portugal in the name of the Queen Donna Maria II. fully participating in the sentiments of his august allies, and desiring to acknowledge by a just requital the engagements contracted by her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain in the 2nd article of the treaty of the 23rd April 1834, undertakes to lend assistance, if the necessity should arise, to her Catholic Majesty, by all the means which may be in his power, according to the form and manner which shall be afterwards agreed upon with their said Majesties.

ARTICLE IV.

The above articles shall have the same force and effect as if they had been inserted word for word in the treaty of the 23rd April 1834, and shall be taken as forming part of the said treaty; they shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, within the period of forty days, or sooner if it may be.

In faith of which the respective plenipoten-

tiaries have signed them and have hereunto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done at London, 18th August 1834.

PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED BY GENERAL VALDEZ TO THE ARMY OF OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH.

Soldiers!— Called by the august Queen Regent to place myself at your head, it becomes my duty to express to you my satisfaction in finding myself a second time amongst you, and on the same theatre where I have so often been witness to your noble devotedness.

Amidst the bitter regret which the continuation of this disastrous war causes to all good Spaniards, I have seen with pleasure the good spirit which animates you, the proofs of your valour, and of the constancy with which you forget the fatigues and privations imposed upon you in the defence of the legitimate rights of our well-beloved Queen, which are so closely interwoven with other rights so precious to the nation, the guarantees of her felicity, her prosperity, and her liberty.

The august Queen Regent, wishing to prove to you by all the means in her power how highly

she appreciates your distinguished services, has invested me with the most ample authority to recompense them according to their importance, as justice requires it.

Nothing can be more agreeable to me than to give effect to these kind feelings of her Majesty, by conferring rewards and distinctions upon valour and talent, and upon all the qualities which characterize military merit, so worthy of her Majesty's esteem and of the gratitude of the whole nation. In order to act in conformity with my instructions, I make known as follows:—

First:—All the officers of the army of operations who, previous to the first of January of the present year, have been engaged in the war beyond the Ebro, and have given proofs of constancy, application, and assiduity, without having obtained either promotion or distinction, shall be advanced to the rank immediately above them, if they do not already hold brevet rank superior to their actual commissions. Those who are so circumstanced shall have the preference for the next appointments.

Secondly:—The rank of sub-lieutenant shall be conferred on every cadet and first sergeant who shall have served the length of time and

under the circumstances specified in the preceding article. The oldest second sergeant of each company shall be promoted to the rank of first sergeant.

Thirdly:—The cross of the order of St. Ferdinand of the second class, is conferred on all the officers, and that of Isabella II. on the other individuals of the garrisons of Olazagoitia and Maesta, without prejudice to the other rewards to which they may be entitled, either in virtue of the preceding articles, or for other services.

Fourthly:—Their absolute discharge shall be accorded to those who shall still be wanting two years of service, at the close of this campaign: those who at that period shall be farther distant from the termination of their service, though they may have only served one year, shall receive their discharge a year after the close of the campaign; this interval being deemed necessary for making a new levy of men, and for putting the recruits into a suitable state for doing duty.

Head-quarters, Vittoria, 18 April 1835.

Soldiers!—I need not tell you that the hand which recompenses the valour and sacrifices of the warrior, will severely chastise all infractions of subordination and discipline, and will be in-

flexible in repressing other misdeeds I will not name, but which are degrading to a profession having valour for its basis, and to which resignation to privations is indispensable.

Companions in arms!—The Queen Regent and the entire nation hope that you will terminate as speedily as possible a deplorable war, which compromises such sacred interests. Your courage and your constancy inspire me with a just confidence that you will fulfil the ardent wishes of all the friends of legitimacy and justice, who are interested in the progress of a wise liberty, so indispensable to the advance of civilization and intelligence.

VALDEZ.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF NAVARRE AND OF THE BASQUE PROVINCES.

Her Majesty the Queen Regent, in the name of her august daughter our legitimate Queen, Isabella II, has deigned to confide to me the command of all the forces destined to the pacification of your provinces, and of those which support them in Arragon and Castille. My mission is essentially pacific, and its maintaining that character depends on you only. Her Ma-

jesty deplores the evils which have so long afflicted you, and with profound grief beholds the fields watered with your blood, the ruin of your fortunes, and the desolation of your hearths. It is indispensable to your welfare, and to the tranquillity of the nation, of which you form but a small part, to put a speedy end to a cruel and fratricide war, which has been lighted amongst you by a few evil-disposed persons, in whose eyes your total annihilation would have been of no account, provided they could satisfy their ambition, and their thirst for blood and rapine.

It is indispensable, I repeat, that this fatal war should be terminated, and that the days of tranquillity and happiness, which you enjoyed before perfidy and treason wrested those blessings from you, should be restored. Such, inhabitants of Navarre and of the Basque provinces, is the noble task which her Majesty has confided to me, and which I shall accomplish at any price. Long known to you, your experience will tell you that I am humane and indulgent; but, though I shall always wish to follow the natural impulses of my heart, I shall also know how to sacrifice them to the duties which the mission confided to my charge imposes upon me. Her Majesty, in her

inexhaustible clemency, receives with a full and unlimited pardon, and from this moment takes under the protection of the laws and of the authorities who administer them, every individual, without distinction of classes or persons, who, within fifteen days from this time, shall abandon the ranks of the rebels, and present themselves with their arms to the generals who command the brigades composing the armies of operation, or to the commanders of the Queen's garrisoned towns. Her Majesty, in the same ample manner, remits the corporal penalties in force against the crime of rebellion to all who shall present themselves unarmed to the above-mentioned authorities.

Her Majesty hopes that the parents, wives, relations, and friends of those who have been seduced into the ranks of the rebels, will hasten to make known to them this new trait of her maternal solicitude, and exhort them to take advantage of this last opportunity of safety which will be offered to them; and her Majesty doubts not that the population, in reply, will testify their gratitude by a change of conduct: but if submission is not yielded within the required time, I hereby declare, in the most positive manner, that

I will without pity deliver up to the flames the entire populations of certain valleys where the rebels ordinarily take refuge, finding there a criminal reception and new resources. I shall always respect the persons and properties of such of the inhabitants as shall retire to the garrisoned towns or to the peaceable provinces. This measure is painful; but when the good of the country speaks, the feelings of humanity must be silent. The conflagration of Moscow saved Russia. Inhabitants of Navarre and of the Basque provinces, I bring to you pardon and peace, or persecution and extermination. The choice depends upon yourselves.

If, opening your eyes to the illusions with which the real enemies of your loyalty deceive and mislead you, you reject their perfidious instigations and unite yourselves to me with good faith, for the re-establishment of that legal order and legitimate obedience, in your country, which the rest of the monarchy already enjoys, you will derive protection and support from me, and will find a friend and defender in every soldier under my orders. If, on the contrary, you persist in your fatal blindness; if you reject the offers I make to you in the name of the Queen, our mistress, with sincere desire for your happiness and future well-being, I shall be

inflexible in my duty, and shall neglect no means of fulfilling it, however rigorous they may be. Abandon the vain hopes with which those flatter you who pretend to erect your fortune upon your ruin; cast your eyes upon the other provinces, which in the Peninsula and beyond the seas constitute the vast Spanish monarchy, and you will see the prosperity and the new existence which they enjoy under the government of our legitimate Queen,—a state of happiness guaranteed by the union of minds, against which your limited resources can avail nothing.

May then this struggle, so unequal, and to you so disastrous, come at length to an end. The nations of Europe contemplate it with horror and indignation; they interest themselves in its speedy issue; and the most powerful, as France and England, are allied to the just cause of the Queen, our mistress, by treaties the most sincere and solemn, which they are resolved irrevocably to fulfil. Her Majesty's benevolence is your only resource; invoke it with confidence. I offer it you sincerely in her royal name.

(Signed) The Minister of War, VALDEZ.

Given at the Head-quarters, Vittoria, 18 April 1835.

CONVENTION,*

For the exchange of prisoners, proposed by Lord Eliot, Commissioner for his Britannic Majesty, and which is to be acted upon by the Commanders-in-chief of the belligerent armies in the provinces of Guipuscoa, Alava, and Biscay, and in the kingdom of Navarre.

ARTICLE I.

The Commanders-in-chief of the two armies in actual hostilities in the provinces of Biscay, Guipuscoa, and Alava, and in the kingdom of Navarre, agree to preserve the lives of the prisoners who shall take to flight on either side, and to exchange them in the manner herein-after provided.

ARTICLE II.

The exchange of prisoners shall be periodical, two or three times in each month; and oftener, if circumstances require and permit it.

* Cordova, who was commissioned by Valdez to arrange with Lord Eliot the form of the clauses of this cartel of exchange, urgently required that the word *stipulation* should be added to the title Convention. The English envoy consented.

ARTICLE III.

The exchange shall be in fair and equal proportions of the number of prisoners presented on each side; and any excess must remain in the power of the party who had taken them, until another opportunity of exchange.

ARTICLE IV.

With respect to officers, the exchange shall be on equal terms; *amongst officers of all ranks, employments, classes, and dependencies. who shall be exchanged by both parties, according to the respective rank of each.*

ARTICLE V.

If, after an exchange has been made between both belligerents, either party shall require a place for the custody of the supernumerary prisoners remaining unexchanged, in order to provide for their safe custody, good treatment, and honour, it shall be agreed that they shall be guarded in a depôt by the party in whose power they are, in one or more villages, which shall be respected by the opposite party in case of their penetrating to them, so that they should not be in any manner injured or disturbed during the time of their sojourn there; but

it is to be understood that no arms, ammunitions, nor articles for military use, can be manufactured in the towns or villages destined for the prisoners.

These places shall be named beforehand by the two belligerent parties.

ARTICLE VI.

During this struggle, no person, whether belonging to the civil or military class, shall be executed for his opinions, without being first tried and condemned according to the military laws and ordinances in force in Spain.

This condition is to be understood solely for those who are not actually prisoners of war; the safety of the latter is provided for by the preceding articles.

ARTICLE VII.

Each of the belligerent parties shall religiously respect, and leave at full liberty, the sick and wounded whom they may find in the hospitals, villages, towns, barracks, or in any place whatsoever, *provided they are furnished with the certificate of a surgeon of their army.*

ARTICLE VIII.

If the war should extend into other provinces,

this convention shall be observed *in the same manner as in the provinces of Guipuscoa, Alava, Biscay, and the kingdom of Navarre.*

(This article was added by the British Commissioner.)

ARTICLE IX.

These conditions shall be religiously and rigorously observed by all the generals who may on either side, succeed to the command.

The treaty having been signed in duplicate, the place of the signatures of the two generals has been changed, *in order that there may be a perfect parity between the two parties.**

Head-quarters, Logrono, 27th April 1835.

The Commander-in-chief of the Army of operations in the North.

(Signed) GERONIMO VALDEZ.

Head-quarters, Asarta, 28th April 1835.

The Commander-in-chief of the Army.

(Signed) THOMAS ZUMALACARREGUY.

(Signed) ELIOT.

* Zumalacarreguy had previously signed on the 25th of April; but Cordova, who, as we have observed before, conducted this diplomatic conference for Valdez, having insisted

TRANSLATION OF ZUMALACARREGUY'S LETTER.

Durango, 10th June 1835.

To the Baron de Los Valles.

My dear Friend,

I have read with much pleasure your obliging letter of the 15th of last month, in which I found many particulars which I should have been glad to have answered in detail; but you will excuse my not doing so, on account of the numerous matters which engage my attention.

Dear friend, we have lately gained much ground, for we take the Christinos as in nets; and whatever the French journals may have said respecting our successes during the last ten days, they are still below the truth. While I was besieging Villa Franca, Espartero marched to relieve it; the only advantage he derived from this attempt was that of leaving us twelve hundred prisoners. On the 9th we took Villa Franca, after playing upon it with our artillery: we even used the bomb. The enemy has also abandoned Tolosa;

on the additions that we have marked in Italics, it was found necessary to reconstruct the treaty; Zumalacarreguy therefore signed a second time on the 28th April.

and the town of Bergara, containing a garrison of twelve hundred men, surrendered soon afterwards. In fact, they have withdrawn all their garrisons from the Bastan and the three provinces, except those of the capitals of Salvatierra, Ochandiano, and two other places on the coast. It seems, therefore, that their intention is to abandon this country and to retire upon the Ebro; on my part, I expect to be in Bilboa in three days, and at Vittoria in twelve.

I can assure you, however, that our affairs are not yet so advanced on all sides as that there would remain nothing for you to do; and when you come, depend upon it, I shall employ you in a manner suitable to your character and to your distinguished merit.

All your comrades, to whom you have desired I should present your compliments, commission me to offer you theirs in return. Unable to say more,

I am your affectionate friend,

THOMAS ZUMALACARREGUY.

Eybar surrendered yesterday.

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